

The JOURNAL of
SOUTHERN
HISTORY

VOL. VI

NOVEMBER, 1940

No. 4



Published quarterly by the
SOUTHERN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The Journal of Southern History

VOLUME VI

NOVEMBER, 1940

NUMBER 4

Published Quarterly by
THE SOUTHERN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

BOARD OF EDITORS

CHARLES W. RAMSDELL
University of Texas

PHILIP DAVIDSON
Agnes Scott College

AVERY O. CRAVEN
University of Chicago

FRANK L. OWSLEY
Vanderbilt University

WALTER B. POSEY
Birmingham-Southern College

W. NEIL FRANKLIN
The National Archives

ROBERT S. COTTERILL
Florida State College for Women

ROBERT H. WOODY
Duke University

MANAGING EDITOR

WENDELL H. STEPHENSON, Louisiana State University

EDITORIAL ASSOCIATE

FRED C. COLE, Louisiana State University

GUARANTOR

LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY

Correspondence in regard to contributions to the *Journal* should be sent to the Managing Editor, Louisiana State University, University, Louisiana.

The Southern Historical Association supplies the *Journal* to its members. The annual membership fee is three dollars; upon payment of fifty dollars, any person may become a life member. Single numbers of the *Journal* are available at seventy-five cents. Membership applications and checks should be sent to the Secretary-Treasurer.

The Southern Historical Association disclaims responsibility for statements made by contributors.

Entered as second-class matter April 5, 1935, at the Post Office at University, Louisiana, under the Act of August 24, 1912.

The Journal of Southern History

VOLUME VI

NOVEMBER, 1940

NUMBER 4



Copyright, 1940, by the Southern Historical Association

CONTENTS

| | |
|--|-----|
| <i>The Civil War Restudied.</i> By J. G. Randall..... | 439 |
| <i>The Genesis of the Nation's Problem in the South.</i> By Paul H. Buck.... | 458 |
| <i>Imports of the Confederate Government from Europe and Mexico.</i> By William Diamond | 470 |
| <i>The Slaveholders' Indictment of Northern Wage Slavery.</i> By Wilfred Carsel | 504 |
| <i>Notes and Documents</i> | |
| Letters of a Yankee Sugar Planter. Edited by C. L. Marquette..... | 521 |
| A Free Labor Contract, 1867. Edited by Jessie Melville Fraser..... | 546 |
| <i>Book Reviews</i> | |
| Carman, <i>American Husbandry</i> , by Everett E. Edwards..... | 549 |
| Childs, <i>Malaria and Colonization in the Carolina Low Country</i> , by J. P. Dyer..... | 550 |
| Stephenson and Dunn, <i>George Washington</i> , I and II, by Edmund C. Burnett..... | 551 |
| Jennings, <i>A Pioneer Merchant of St. Louis, 1810-1820: The Business Career of Christian Wilt</i> , by T. D. Clark..... | 555 |
| Gabriel, <i>The Course of American Democratic Thought: An Intelligent History Since 1815</i> , by J. L. Sellers..... | 555 |
| Brooks, <i>Diplomacy and the Borderlands: The Adams-Onís Treaty of 1819</i> , by Alfred B. Thomas..... | 557 |
| Eaton, <i>Freedom of Thought in the Old South</i> , by Frank L. Owsley..... | 558 |
| Ambler, <i>West Virginia: The Mountain State</i> , by John D. Barnhart..... | 559 |
| Lonn, <i>Foreigners in the Confederacy</i> , by B. I. Wiley..... | 561 |
| Sheppard, <i>Red Shirts Remembered: Southern Brigadiers of the Reconstruction Period</i> , by Francis B. Simkins..... | 563 |
| McIlwaine, <i>The Southern Poor-White: from Lubberland to Tobacco Road</i> , by Roger W. Shugg..... | 564 |
| Montague, <i>Haiti and the United States</i> , by Edward R. Ott..... | 565 |
| Thompson, <i>Race Relations and the Race Problem: A Definition and an Analysis</i> , by T. Lynn Smith..... | 566 |
| <i>Historical News and Notices</i> | 568 |
| Personal..... | 568 |
| Bibliographical..... | 569 |
| <i>Contributors</i> | 579 |

The Civil War Restudied

BY J. G. RANDALL

Any attempt to re-examine the Civil War on the level of competent historical scholarship meets its first difficulty in the vastness of the subject.¹ This would be true if one were writing a book; for a small-sized paper the theme is impossible. It may be well to begin with a glance at opportunities. These we find in the double sense of the greater accessibility of records and the existence of gaps yet to be filled in. The field of Civil War studies has not reached that overripe stage where all the fruitful topics have been developed and where further effort must be in terms of dilettante refinement, of minutiae, or marginalia. The significant thing is not merely the number of new contributions being made, but the importance of the subjects studied.

Another broad factor should be noted. Historical scholarship in respect to the Civil War is old enough so that the existence of a monograph on a particular subject should not necessarily deter the student from attempting it again. The partition of Virginia has been treated, but important aspects have hardly been touched and a new study based especially upon the Pierpoint papers and taking into view the details of what went on in the counties offers a theme in which a real contribution is yet to be made.² The same may be said of numerous Civil War topics.

There is an obligation that rests upon the student. If a subject is

¹ This paper was read in part at a general session of the Southern Historical Association at Lexington, Kentucky, November 3, 1939.

² J. G. Randall, *Constitutional Problems Under Lincoln* (New York, 1926), Chap. XVIII. "Pierpoint" was the spelling used by Francis H. Pierpoint himself.

taken, it should be adequately dealt with. If it has been done in the past, say twenty-five or thirty years ago, that in itself is no reason why another effort, or various further efforts, should not now be made. But a great many subjects are yet to be touched for the first time.

It has been said that in the journalism of our day the reporting function is better performed than the interpretive function. In other words, given the limitations of news gathering in a world of censorship and propaganda, news writers of today are less unsatisfactory than columnists and editorialists. Without pursuing this inquiry as to journalism itself, it is of interest to note its application to historical study. The historian may easily be tempted to turn commentator or, if you please, columnist. Editorializing or column writing is easy. It usually takes less effort than research. It offers a cue for essay writing. It satisfies a literary impulse. It finds a demand in the minds of many readers. It is popular to spread one's story on a broad canvas, to deal in generalization or prediction, to deliver over the counter a consignment of impressive pronouncements and omniscient finalities. Such writers get a reputation as thinkers; research men are too likely to appear as plodders. Research is tied down; it is the editorialist who soars and sparkles.

Along with all this there is another tendency—the inclination to speak slightly of that individual who is pityingly referred to as the “professional historian.” At times this term seems almost to connote something suspicious or discreditable, as if amateur standing in the historical field constituted in itself a kind of superiority. One does not consider amateur standing desirable in chemistry, nor does one often hear the term “professional chemist”; it is sufficient to say chemist. Similarly it might be enough to speak of historians and let it go at that. Much that has been said on this theme is twaddle and hokum. The competent historian does not need to pay much heed to it, merely making sure that he justify himself at that point where his essential function lies, i.e., in historical investigation, in the discovering and testing of evidence, and the formulating of conclusions that tie up with reliable and adequate proof.

In historical investigation the amateur inevitably betrays himself.

The point does not need to be labored; it has been shown many times, as for instance a decade ago when one of the best magazines of the country palmed off some forged Lincoln and Ann Rutledge letters whose fraudulent character could have been detected by a beginner in historical method.⁸ It is on the plane of competent and critical investigation that the historian must find his justification. That is what men in other fields look to the historian for. If that is lacking, no amount of pen swinging or literary window dressing will cover the defect. The present writer submits that for the tragedy of the sixties the editorializing process has gone too far, or at the least that it has gone far enough, and that what is needed is more researchers and not more commentators.

An example is found in the facile assumption that because sectional differences existed between North and South, because one section was primarily agricultural while the other was becoming primarily industrial, *ergo* (Q. E. D.) war between the sections was inevitable. On the level of hard research the writers who present this economic war-causation picture have simply not made their point. The trouble is that they "prove" too much. They tend toward the assertion that economic factors must bring war, that differences within a nation are identical with causes of armed conflict. If one section is agricultural and the other industrial, why is that not all the more reason for union so that one section can supplement the other in a well-rounded nation? Superficial economic determinist theory works both ways and is used for diametrically opposite effects. Sometimes the purpose is to show that economic factors bring war because a nation must be self-sufficient. This implies that a nation must have within its territory many diverse kinds of resources, both agricultural and industrial. It overlooks the broad fact of international trade and falsely assumes that only if materials are territorially owned at the point of production, and if necessary seized from another nation by war, only then can a nation enjoy use of the materials. At other times, however, the purpose in this type

⁸ Wilma Frances Minor, "Lincoln the Lover," in *Atlantic Monthly* (Boston, 1857-), CXLII (1928), 838-56; CXLIII (1929), 1-14, 215-25; Lincoln Centennial Association [later the Abraham Lincoln Association] *Bulletin*, Special Number (Springfield, 1928); *ibid.*, Second Special Number (Springfield, 1929).

of theory is to show just the opposite as in the case of the Civil War, namely, that if a nation is broadly based, if it has diversity of agricultural and industrial resources, then the thing to do is to break it up and form two or more nations on a basis either of specialization or of unsound diversification which would put factories where cotton fields ought to grow.

It is needless to say that the objection here is not to economics as handmaid of history. The point to be stressed is that economic factors are tremendously various and complex, while the word "interpretation" as associated with the adjective "economic" usually suggests a broad synthesis that sees things whole and sets forth an entire situation. Merely to state the economic *aspects* of a movement is broad enough; to "interpret" the whole movement in economic terms is vastly broader. Such interpretation is necessarily imperfect if a writer takes a few economic details, much less than might be taken, and then swings his pen in broad and sweeping paragraphs. Generalization is dangerously alluring. There are times when the avoidance of a readable formula of broad interpretation requires downright force of character. When a scholar's grasp of data is not commensurate with the magnitude or the difficulties of a wide and baffling field, he should have the humility and grace to admit it. Such grace is not likely to be achieved by a writer whose dispensing of economic interpretation is in support of a pet thesis or a preconceived nostrum.

To present economic elements pertaining to North and South is, of course, important and valuable. To give these elements a certain twist, however, e.g., to suggest that because of economic factors there had to be war, is to give only part of a broadly complex picture. The thing needed is to assess economic factors at their genuine value while not losing sight of other factors. Often that type of economic determinist who points toward war, though happily not all economic historians are of that type, is afraid of his own subject. What was it but economic factors that made New York a focus for international banking and exchange, that made New England a center for manufacturing and shipping, and that made the South a great area for agricultural effort?

To what extent are economic factors tending toward peace any the less potent than economic factors tending toward war? In our own day is there not more of economic illusion than wisdom in assertions that militaristic expansion stems from the need for raw materials and for population outlets, especially since international trade brings raw materials, while the history of modern colonization shows that outlying possessions do not in fact relieve congestion at home? Against these doubtful advantages is not the prodigious cost of war to be thrown into the balance? If economic quest is a justification for war, why it is that present tendencies of warmaking and aggression are in terms of economic distortion and frustration rather than development? Shall it not be said that historians need to ponder well their findings on the subject of economics as it bears upon war?

Historical scholarship moves forward by way of new research, unflagging inquisitiveness, and revisionist studies. New inquiry we must have; revision is not so much the motive as the result. With all the revision that scholars can present, historical patterns have a toughness and persistence at least on the level of popular belief. Often it is decades before an historical stereotype is even questioned. There are things which the Civil War generation and the Victorian age would not have dared to question, accepted verities that they would not have thought of revising. At the present time, at least among the sophisticated, the opposite tendency is the vogue. There is nothing that is not questioned. Revision has become popular, and rightly so, but the thing that makes new studies popular to the sophisticated is usually their generalizations, their broad inclusive patterns. On the other hand the usefulness of the studies is not primarily in the mere statement of new "conclusions," but in findings of evidence based upon close and competent research. It is the historical function, not the editorializing function, that is significant.

No sane historian is going to make light of revisionist work competently done. In the field of the Civil War revisionist studies have been significant and illuminating on such matters as antislavery effort, the Missouri Compromise, motives and limits of slavery expansion, the disapproved "backwardness" of the South in college education, slave insur-

rections, the alleged anti-Southernism of northern communities, the relation of Cuba to American sectionalism, the Dred Scott decision, the reputed "menace" of Lincoln's election, the Sumter question in its relation to secession, the same question in its bearing upon events of President Lincoln's first six weeks, the relation of individual states to secession and to prewar politics, problems of the great American border, the committee on the conduct of the war, complex problems of the Union army, the administration of Simon Cameron, the national banking system as a sectional factor, the Northwest in relation to Lincoln's election, the Germans and again the *Chicago Tribune* in relation to the same topic, European aspects of the American question, the Middle West in the Civil War, peacemakers of 1864, conscientious objectors, Confederate diplomacy, and so on almost indefinitely.⁴

Revisionist work is so important that the next statement in this paper is uttered in the hope that it will not be misunderstood—namely, that at times the revisionist must himself be revised. What this amounts to is that we need not less revisionist research but more. It is the revisionist above all who should beware of finality. Superficial revisionist writings will necessarily lead to that point where "new" conclusions will themselves have to be re-examined. For example, the old idea was that the framing of the Fourteenth Amendment was a matter related to Negro rights and not at its inception to the protection of corporations against regulation to prevent capitalistic abuse. Years passed and the revisionist pointed to Roscoe Conkling's "revelation" of a much broader purpose. Conkling made it appear that there was some realization among men of Congress that a "person" might be understood to be a corporation and that the amendment might be useful to corporate interests. John A. Bingham has also been cited to show that the amend-

⁴ To annotate at this point is impracticable. Monographs on the above topics are noted in the bibliography of J. G. Randall, *The Civil War and Reconstruction* (Boston, 1937). An excellent guide is the annual volume entitled *Writings on American History*, published by the Carnegie Institution of Washington, in which Civil War studies, as well as other studies, are listed and indexed. Carl Russell Fish, *The American Civil War, An Interpretation*, ed. by William Ernest Smith (New York, 1937), offers a workable bibliography as well as a fresh and scholarly treatment of the whole difficult period.

ment's purpose extended beyond Negro rights. The story does not end there, however. It has a sequel. More careful research brings us back to the conclusion that, in the opinion of the framers, the subject matter dealt with in the amendment was indeed Negro rights (with, of course, a partisan approach). On further examination the Conkling assertion appears but the pleading of a corporation lawyer. In this light the amazing judicial expansion of the Fourteenth Amendment as a shield for large corporate interests against public regulation by the states is a process that lacks historical justification in terms of contemporary intention.⁵

Another example of the same thing is found in a recent tendency of some writers to stress slave insurrections. Those who treat the war in terms of broad class struggle with Marxian implications find it convenient to overemphasize ante-bellum slave insurrections as if they represented something like a great social upheaval. The obvious fact of the lack of serious servile insurrections, with the tragic exception of the Nat Turner uprising, is overlooked and the modern reader is given the impression of insurrections where they did not exist. The actual ante-bellum fact as to the attitude of Negro slaves toward their masters is that of docility and faithfulness, of acquiescence in what Ulrich B.

⁵ For the "revisionist" statement and the reference to Conkling and Bingham, see Charles A. and Mary R. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization*, 2 vols. in one (New York, 1930), II, 112-13. Conkling's dramatic argument in the San Mateo case before the Supreme Court in 1882, his use of the journal of the joint committee on reconstruction, and the strange history of that long-buried journal, are well told in Benjamin B. Kendrick, *The Journal of the Joint Committee of Fifteen on Reconstruction*, in *Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law*, No. 150 (New York, 1914). Printed copies of Conkling's brief and oral argument in the San Mateo case (emphasizing the alleged contemporary purpose of the framers to protect corporations as "persons") are found in the library of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York. The subject has been studied recently by J. B. James in a doctoral dissertation (University of Illinois, 1939) entitled "The Framing of the Fourteenth Amendment." James writes (p. 32): "... there is no indication in contemporary records of a Radical purpose to protect them [corporations] by constitutional safeguards." Kendrick writes: "There is no doubt that Conkling's argument . . . marks the beginning of . . . [an] important revolution in our law." *Journal of the Joint Committee of Fifteen on Reconstruction*, 29. See also, Louis M. Hacker and Benjamin B. Kendrick, *The United States Since 1865* (New York, 1932), 74, 198.

Phillips has called a lifetime adjustment of master and slave. This basic fact, recognized by those who have seriously studied slavery, does not suit writers of a certain type. What suits them is to find social upheavals whether they existed or not. Their generalizations on this subject are not documented. If this be revision, then the revisionist must be revised. To say this is not to show callousness toward social problems of today; it is simply to recognize that today is today and that historical analogies have their limitations.

The slavery issue as a troublemaking and warmaking influence requires the most careful restudy. Either of two extremes here is fundamentally misleading. To say that the slavery questions actually in dispute between the sections were vital to the point of justifying war is one extreme. The other extreme is to write of prewar times and of the Lincoln crisis as if slavery had nothing to do with it. When one considers war causation, the extent to which the slavery issue was twisted and endlessly played up in popular discussions and political wranglings is an inescapable fact. To ignore this or to write it off is to give an inadequate mirror of the times. In two of its aspects—in respect to fugitive slaves and to territorial extension—the slavery question was at the same time trivial and tragically important. It was trivial as to interests that were in fact threatened; yet it was tragically important as a popular and political troublemaker. It may be admitted that these alleged "grievances" were not the cause of war in the sense of logically justifying resort to war; but warmaking is seldom if ever logical and it is a matter of history that the "grievances" were constant and persistent themes of intersectional bickering. Emotions may be stubborn facts however illogical they are. Antagonistic emotions were fabricated from stuff that was amazingly thin, but they existed nonetheless.

As to fugitive slaves one need not emphasize the one-sidedness of the law of 1850, nor the southern sympathies of the Supreme Court, nor the readiness in many northern areas to remedy complaints, nor the willingness of Republican statesmen to go further in satisfying the South. What should be emphasized is that escaping slaves in 1860

numbered 803, which was approximately one fiftieth of one per cent of the total number of slaves in the country.⁶

On the much belabored question of slavery in the territories two things should be noted: the triviality of the question as a substantial issue, and the failure of the Republicans to apply exclusion in those territorial statutes that were actually passed in Congress early in 1861. Nor is this to ignore the seriousness of slavery. The point is not that slavery itself was a trivial matter made tragically important by over-emphasis, but that this was true of those limited aspects of slavery that actually became the stuff of large controversy. Where struggle raged fundamentally against slavery itself it was not large controversy; it was rather the ardent and fanatical agitation of small antislavery groups. Large political groups simply did not try to grapple with slavery; certainly the Republican party did not do so.⁷ Rather these groups raised huge clouds of controversy out of precisely those phases of slavery that lacked substance—slavery in Kansas for instance, which never had any true bearing upon Kansas itself. They created opposition out of a highly artificial, almost a fabricated, issue. They produced quarrels out of things that would have settled themselves were it not for political agitation. It will not do to say that a comprehensive principle was bound up in the superficial territorial issue and that slavery had to be prohibited from territories where it would not go as a way of checking slavery in the large sense. The defect in this reasoning is to be found in two factors: the complacency of practical Republican leaders as to slavery in the states of the South, and the party advantage of having what seemed a big issue not as a thing to settle but as a thing to agitate, so that politicians could merely skirt a subject that they were not essentially grappling with. It was known in 1860 that Kansas and Nebraska had been written off for freedom because Southerners did not care to take slaves into those regions. In 1860 the census reported only two slaves

⁶ In 1860 the whole number of slaves in the United States was 3,953,760, while the number reported as escaping was 803. *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860: Population*, ix, xvi. How many of those escaping were unrecovered, or how much *net loss* remained after considering the kidnapping of free Negroes, is hard to say.

⁷ See below, n. 16.

in Kansas, fifteen in Nebraska, and a negligible number in all the territories appertaining to the United States. When Republicans in Congress came to pass territorial laws for Dakota, Colorado, and Nevada in February and March, 1861,⁸ they avoided applying the Wilmot Proviso principle which has been considered the bedrock of Republican doctrine. This was a topic of censure by James G. Blaine who wished it otherwise and by Stephen A. Douglas who taunted his opponents with the hollowness of their position while underscoring his own well-known contention that the territorial issue concerning slavery was senseless as a basis for conflict.⁹

To say that the matter of slave extension in the territories was trivial, however, is to omit much of the picture. The question had an undeserved importance in that it was the theme of intersectional quarrels which served constantly to inflame passion and which tended always toward dangerous deadlock. There were political groups which found it convenient to overstate the issue, but this very overstatement was always a factor of menace and sectional danger.

There is the familiar comment that the Civil War saved the Union. This would have been said as to the secession movement of 1850 if war had occurred and the Union side had won. As to 1860, if the dilemma of war or permanent disunion embraced the whole truth, the concept is sound. If, however, preservation of the Union by peaceable adjustment was possible, then unionists were not faced with a choice of war or disunion, but rather a choice between a Union policy of war and a Union policy in the Virginian sense of adjustment and concession. It is impressive to recall the men who thought in 1860 that this Virginian type of Union statesmanship was possible. Among these men were James Buchanan, John Tyler, John Bell, John Floyd, John C. Breckinridge, Stephen A. Douglas, William H. Seward, Alexander H. Stephens,

⁸ James G. Blaine, *Twenty Years of Congress: from Lincoln to Garfield*, 2 vols. (Norwich, Conn., 1884-1886), I, 269 ff.

⁹ Douglas stated that the South had by Republican action the full right to emigrate into all the territory of the United States, and that the Republicans in 1861 abandoned their own platform. *Congressional Globe*, 36 Cong., 2 Sess., 1391 (March 2, 1861). See also, Blaine, *Twenty Years of Congress*, I, 271 ff.

John J. Crittenden, Herschel V. Johnson, Benjamin H. Hill, Thurlow Weed, and many others. Most of those who thought otherwise were of the northern or southern extremist type whom historians on both sides have set down as a minority. Confronted with the problem of whether only war could have saved the Union, historians must enter a plea of *non possumus*. They have no way of telling what might or might not have been; they will have to leave that to the columnists. But the assertion that war did save the Union is an attempt to give an answer in the guesswork field where historical answers cannot be given. The statement is untrue if it implies that a victorious Federal government used its victory in 1865 as a means of restoring the Union as it was. After Appomattox the thing that the dominant northern radicals seemed in the least hurry about was reconstruction of the Union.

It is customary to justify the war for ridding the country of slavery, but war aims were very differently proclaimed by the northern Congress, by Lincoln, and by southern spokesmen. Even the Emancipation Proclamation definitely implied that the states could keep slavery if they would come back to the Union. It was after issuing his Emancipation Proclamation that Lincoln, in his annual message of 1862, made his most elaborate appeal for gradual eradication of slavery by evolution and voluntary state action. This was the opposite of Federal warmaking compulsion, while late in the war there seemed reason to doubt that abolition was an indispensable war aim so far as Lincoln was concerned. This has hardly been dealt with in the Lincoln treatments; it is a subject still to be developed.¹⁰

There is no assured answer to the question what would have hap-

¹⁰ In his memorandum to "whom it may concern" (July 18, 1864) Lincoln included abandonment of slavery as a condition of peace, but on December 24, 1864, he indicated to Orville H. Browning that he had been "misunderstood" and that, as reported by Browning, he "had never . . . [intended] making . . . abolition . . . a condition precedent to the termination of the war, and the restoration of the Union." Theodore C. Pease and J. G. Randall (eds.), *The Diary of Orville Hickman Browning*, 2 vols. (Springfield, 1927-1933), I, 699. It appears that some of Lincoln's confidential remarks did not altogether agree with his published statements. J. P. Usher stated that the reference to abolition as a condition of peace in the paper to "whom it may concern" was not Lincoln's idea but was "inserted" at Greeley's request. Usher to R. W. Thompson, Washington, August 14, 1864 (MS., Lincoln Life Foundation, Fort Wayne, Indiana).

pened to slavery if there had been no war. If one deals in conjectures and searches for clues he must find them not in an imagined projection of an unchanging Old South into later decades, but in the reasonable assumption that there would have been a New South even without the war and in the fact that the New South is more than a post-bellum and propter-bellum affair. It is also pertinent to ask what has been the historic process, not of sudden paper and legal abolition, but of genuine evolution out of and away from slavery. One hears the comment that modern conditions of tenancy in the South are little better than slavery, and curiously enough this comment is often given by precisely those writers who in another setting would justify the Civil War as a great social movement for freedom. Leaving this aside, however, and looking at some of the constructive aspects, it may be noted that so far as improvement has come in the sense of substantial freedom being conferred upon the Negro, so far as it has gone beyond legislative halls into complex human life, it has come by southern action, not by northern compulsion. After all the bloodshed and anguish the evolution toward a higher status for the Negro in all essential human aspects was still the Southerner's problem. Over against northern efforts to make emancipation effective in actual life, as in the Freedmen's Bureau and in northern philanthropy, there stood the powerful postwar alliance of northern capitalist and southern bourbon by which both the Negro and the agrarian white were held in subordination.¹¹

Conditions leading out of slavery have continued and remained southern conditions. It would be overoptimistic to say that the Negro is entirely free, especially in this maladjusted age, but such freedom as he has he owes not alone to the Civil War but to the people among whom he lives and upon whom he still depends. Even in such a matter as the elimination of postwar peonage through judicial application of the Thirteenth Amendment as in South Carolina, the agency not only of the Federal government but of Southerners through the Federal

¹¹ C. Vann Woodward, *Tom Watson, Agrarian Rebel* (New York, 1938), Chap. IV and *passim*. See also, Howard K. Beale, "On Rewriting Reconstruction History," in *American Historical Review* (New York, 1895-), XLV (1940), 807-27, especially pp. 821-23.

government, e.g., the Federal Judge W. H. Brawley of Charleston, must be taken into account.¹² Proclamations, laws, constitutional amendments, and judicial decisions do not tell the whole story.

The Civil War is a prolific field for misconceptions. It is often assumed, for example, that Lincoln and Douglas were opposites. The fact is that they had much in common. On the broad racial problem they thought alike. Their differences as to slavery were minor. Lincoln did not challenge Douglas on the fundamental issue (for it was not an active political issue) of social and political equality among the races. In the debates Lincoln definitely avoided the contention that Negroes must have all the social and political privileges of whites.¹³ As to the overemphasized question of Kansas, Lincoln and Douglas wanted the same thing: Lincoln wanted Kansas free by congressional prohibition; Douglas favored a program that would have made Kansas free by popular sovereignty. The two men had an attitude toward the Kansas policy of the Buchanan administration that was virtually identical, though the Republicans were reluctant to give Douglas credit for his anti-Lecompton attitude because it pleased them to paint him worse than he was. It was even true, however, that some of the Republicans in the East spoke favorably of Douglas and considered him Republican timber.¹⁴

It has also been supposed that Lincoln and McClellan were opposites, and much of the superficial writing about Lincoln has been in terms of a denunciation of McClellan both on the military and political fronts.

¹² In South Carolina, in the eighties and nineties, Negroes and Italian immigrants were subjected to a kind of peonage which was suppressed by Brawley, who declared a state law on this subject void under the Thirteenth Amendment. Another Charlestonian, John P. Grace, defended two Negroes against this kind of oppression. The readiness of southern men to accept this application of the amendment is significant. The sum total of southern cases under the antislavery amendment, however, has been small. David Duncan Wallace, *The History of South Carolina*, 4 vols. (New York, 1934), III, 395.

¹³ From the voluminous record of the joint debates the following statements by Lincoln may be quoted: "... I am not ... in favor of ... the social and political equality of the white and black races." John G. Nicolay and John Hay (eds.), *Abraham Lincoln: Complete Works*, 2 vols. (New York, 1894), I, 369. "... I am not in favor of negro citizenship." *Ibid.*, 406.

¹⁴ Albert J. Beveridge, *Abraham Lincoln, 1809-1858*, 2 vols. (New York, 1928), II, 545 ff.

It is only necessary to say that on the military front the more careful writers show considerable respect for McClellan, while it is easy enough to point to Union disadvantages that arose from radical anti-McClellanism and to disasters that befell "Little Mac's" successors. As for the political front Lincoln and McClellan agreed in 1864 on the main questions of the day except perhaps slavery.¹⁵ Both favored prosecuting the war with an unequivocal Union objective; both favored generous treatment of the South in matters of reconstruction. The real cleavage of sentiment was not between Lincoln and McClellan but between Republican conservatives and Republican radicals. The radicals did not get to first base in the election of 1864, but in the sequel theirs was the victory. It is a serious misconception to consider the election of 1864 decisive as an overthrow of defeatism in the North or as the repudiation of a policy that would have surrendered the Union. It was the Vallandigham men, not the McClellan men, who favored an armistice with the South. Even that armistice was not intended as anti-Union. The election of 1864 settled nothing in the sense of shaping future policy in harmony with the real meaning of votes cast. It is not merely true that the votes cast for Lincoln and Johnson went for naught in terms of future reconstruction; it is also true that the other northern votes, which were for McClellan, and which were in essential agreement with Lincoln and Johnson as to the treatment of the South, went for nothing.

One of the very large misconceptions is that party attitudes have been significant. It is the old mistake of taking parties seriously and of assuming that the realized function of a party group is to present for governmental purposes a solid front of like-thinking people in opposition to another group who also think alike but in the opposite sense. Parties are conducted by politicians whose purpose is to get votes and to occupy government positions. Getting votes may mean the very opposite of settling public questions or of taking such a clear-cut stand on issues

¹⁵ McClellan did not favor the continuance of civil war for the purpose of abolition of slavery, but as already stated (see above, n. 10) there is good reason to doubt that Lincoln considered abolition an indispensable war aim.

that only like-thinking voters will support a given party. If issues are really serious, if they divide the people, candidates will be likely to avoid committing themselves and politicians will angle for votes in as many diverse pools as possible. If a certain group makes the party appeal at election time, this is no guarantee that another group may not, as in the period following 1864, exploit the election for a purpose quite different from that of the party appeal. The rarest thing for the politician is to be selective in the choice of supporters. As to the voter, if he is more interested in having a question decided than in having a particular party win, he is to that extent not a typical party man. If he is a party man it is the pure fact, or the impure fact, of party success that gives him a thrill.

It is a misconception to suppose that the Republicans were a well-knit party of like-thinking people or that they were in 1860-1861 standing together and standing firm on any thorough antislavery principle.¹⁶ It is not merely that the politicians who steered the party were not trying to touch slavery where alone it practically existed, i.e., in the South. Many of the party's voters, especially urban dwellers, stood ready to support Weed, and this meant to compromise the slavery question. The party's members supported the Adrian resolution advising repeal of the personal liberty laws, and this before any state had seceded.¹⁷ They agreed to the proposed constitutional amendment that would have protected slavery in the states. It was common for those few who stood firm to express regret at the manner in which Republicans were backing down. "It is sad," wrote Salmon P. Chase in January, 1861, "to think what is now yielded and by whom."¹⁸ Republicans had heaped abuse

¹⁶ New light on this subject appears in Tracy E. Strevay's study of the influence of the *Chicago Tribune* in the nomination and election of Lincoln, in *Papers in Illinois History* . . . 1938 (Illinois State Historical Society, Springfield, 1938), 39-63. After showing that the *Tribune* favored Lincoln because his conservatism meant Republican victory (p. 43), Dr. Strevay states that according to the *Tribune* "the Republican Party as a political organization had nothing to do with . . . abolishing slavery or bettering the conditions of the slaves" (p. 53).

¹⁷ The Adrian resolution passed the House of Representatives on December 17, 1860, by a vote of 153 to 14. *Cong. Globe*, 36 Cong., 2 Sess., 108.

¹⁸ Salmon P. Chase to John A. Andrew, January 26, 1861, Andrew MSS. (Massachusetts Historical Society Library).

upon the Webster and Douglas contention that territorial restrictions were needless; then when acting in Congress they themselves dropped the restrictions. Their action confirmed their opponents' contention that the whole fuss and storm related to "an imaginary negro in an impossible place."¹⁹ Americans of the time, having been led to believe that the territorial issue concerning slavery was pivotal and vital, that it was from one standpoint a Republican essential and from another standpoint a challenge to southern rights, were witnesses of a scene in Congress in which Seward cheerfully waived the antislavery guarantee on Republican behalf, while James Stephens Green of Missouri waived proslavery guarantees "on behalf of the Breckinridge Democracy."²⁰ There is ample basis in the manuscripts of the time for the statement that Republicans were backsliders in the eyes of those who held firm in the antislavery faith.²¹

Another false concept is to suppose that Lincoln in 1861 created an all-parties cabinet; in fact, all members of the 1861 cabinet were Republicans of 1860. There are numerous misconceptions concerning the Emancipation Proclamation. The Emancipator did not in fact strike the shackles from millions of slaves at the stroke of the pen; the actual freeing of slaves by the proclamation itself was negligible. The famous edict had significance more as a slogan, in which it was potent, than as a measure.

Much remains to be done. Buchanan ought to be, if not rehabilitated, at least re-examined. Against the tendency to speak of Buchanan as a slacker or traitor it should be remembered that the message of Decem-

¹⁹ Blaine, *Twenty Years of Congress*, I, 272.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 271. Blaine adds: "It was the apotheosis of Popular Sovereignty, and Mr. Douglas was pardonable even for an excessive display of self-gratulation over an event so suggestive and so instructive. . . . It cannot be denied that this action of the Republican party was a severe reflection upon their prolonged agitation for prohibition of slavery in the Territories by Congressional enactment." *Ibid.*, 271-72.

²¹ Joshua Giddings wrote to Sumner on December 3, 1860: "I am sorry to find so many cowards even among republicans." Sumner MSS. (Harvard University Library). E. W. Capron of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, wrote to William Lloyd Garrison, January 28, 1861: "There has been a great cave in by the Republicans in the [Pennsylvania] Senate." Garrison MSS. (Boston Public Library). This note of disgust at Republican concessions runs all through the correspondence of Garrison, Sumner, Andrew, and other antislavery men.

ber, 1860, had firm unionism in it, though it also had conciliation, and that it was presented before any state had seceded. The overwhelming emphasis in the country was upon adjustment, and the problem of adjustment was the main preoccupation of a rather inefficient Congress. It is in this light that Buchanan's administration must be judged, not in the light of the common anti-Buchanan assumption that conciliation was foredoomed to failure. Secessionists by no means reckoned Buchanan as an ally. Without committing the government to a recognition of secession, this besmirched and hectoring President was yet able to hold eight of the fifteen slave states in the Union until the day of Lincoln's inauguration. It should be added to his credit that the many apprehensions of anti-Lincoln violence in Washington did not materialize.

Other men call not so much for rehabilitation as for realistic restudy. There is, for instance, no adequate life of Edwin M. Stanton; indeed the papers of Stanton's secret service are withheld from investigators. It is a common assumption that corrupt conditions under Cameron gave way to clean and efficient conditions under Stanton.²² This is usually said with insufficient citation of cases. Corruption did not entirely cease under Stanton, while all the great Union military disasters except the first Bull Run occurred during his administration. There are other significant men who have no adequate biographies, such as Stephens, Chase, Horace Greeley, and Henry J. Raymond. The colorful life of Judah P. Benjamin is now being rewritten.²³ Such a man as Charles Sumner de-

²² One of the most unfounded misconceptions is the idea that corruption, admitted to have existed under Cameron, ceased under Stanton. In the interest of brevity only a few items among many can be mentioned here. General Daniel E. Sickles wrote of enormous trade with the enemy in Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, and Arkansas, adding that he would not like "to go into details in a communication that might be published." Sickles to H. A. Risley, near Memphis, May 31, 1864, Chase MSS. (Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress). "Corruption rules the day," wrote one of Elihu B. Washburne's friends, who continued with indignant comment on "the corrupt scoundrels who are stealing from the Government." Cyrus Woodman to Washburne, Detroit, January 17, 1864, Washburne MSS. (Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress). In 1864 Montgomery Blair wrote of "corruption which has been wrought on all classes of officers civil and military by the trade with the enemy." He considered conditions "frightful" and "most disgusting." Rough draft of a letter signed by Montgomery Blair, Washington, May 23, 1864, Gist-Blair MSS. (Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress).

²³ The reference here is to the new biography of Benjamin by Robert D. Meade, a most competent piece of historical research which is still in manuscript.

serves, or should be subjected to, an adequate study. Fortunately, this task is in the competent hands of Laura White, while a restudy of John Sherman is in the competent hands of Roy and Jeannette Nichols. There is as yet no entirely adequate full-length biography of Lincoln. These are major characters, but minor characters also should be further studied, among them the amazing girl orator Anna E. Dickinson. This female whirlwind swept the North with her emotional appeals, intoxicated audience and reporter alike with her spellbinding personality, and addressed both houses of Congress with President Lincoln as auditor; yet she has no article in the *Dictionary of American Biography*. To pass from biographical to cultural opportunities, the southern highlander's part in the period needs the historian's treatment; there is more in this subject than picturesque description and folklore hunting.²⁴

The more the war is restudied, the more do legalistic and romantic attitudes recede, and the more do we have emphasis upon social and human realities. The war becomes less a matter of yellow sashes and tassels, of swords and roses. It becomes known for the ghastly scourge that it was, a scourge in which prison misery and preventable disease took heavier toll than bullets and in which desertion, corruption, and greed were as widespread as romantic gallantry. Guerrilla fights, criminality, and the underworld of vice were more prevalent than most readers would realize. The horror of the war in what it did to human bodies is not commonly revealed. In its mental attitudes the war emerges from restudy as a thing of twisted ideology. Indeed, the war mind is one of the most ghastly features of the struggle; minds that should have kept serene were swept into excesses of propaganda, intolerance, and hate. Advocates of peace were caught in a cruel dilemma and peace proposals seemed a kind of defeatism. The war became not only an abyss of physical anguish but an ideological abyss as well. Yet it was philosophically played up as a spiritual catharsis. Propaganda aspects of the

²⁴ Some of these claims are being staked out. Miss Dickinson's activities in the war period are being studied by J. Harvey Young. "The Southern Highlander on the Eve of Conflict" is to be discussed by S. C. Beard, Jr., before the Southern Historical Association at Charleston, South Carolina, November 7, 1940. Both of these studies are doctoral dissertations in preparation at the University of Illinois.

war,²⁵ as well as social phases and such a matter as labor situations, offer opportunities for a great deal of further study.

This imperfect discussion of an impossibly large subject must be terminated. Fortunately, the omens are favorable for the conquest of new frontiers of historical research. The Southern Historical Association is a lusty and impressive infant. Though the war of the states is happily only one field, and not the most important one, for new research, the many opportunities in this field should be accepted by the scholars of this distinguished Association as both a challenge and a satisfaction. Never before in the South has historical effort enjoyed so fine a sponsorship.²⁶

²⁵ In a doctoral dissertation recently completed (University of Wisconsin, 1939) Mr. G. Winston Smith has examined this subject. The title of his monograph is "Generative Forces of Union Propaganda: A Study in Civil War Pressure Groups."

²⁶ The writer's paper, "The Blundering Generation," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (Cedar Rapids, 1914-), XXVII (1940-1941), 3-28, deals with matters closely related to the present article.

The Genesis of the Nation's Problem in the South

BY PAUL H. BUCK

When Professor Sydnor invited me to discuss the historical background of the nation's problem in the South I realized the hopeless immensity of the subject.¹ I attributed its generous proportions to the broad and prodigal hospitality of a Southern gentleman. More recently I have begun to suspect that I have been made the victim of a dark-lanterned, diabolical plot. Thirty minutes sufficeth not to cover the subject but it is ample time to fall into one of the many pitfalls which confront even the most cautious and modest effort to understand the complexities that constitute the South.

It was in his first annual message to Congress in December, 1881, that President Arthur omitted all mention of the South and in so doing obliged a nation that had grown weary of the topic. Alert journalists commented on the fact that it was the first time in forty years a presidential message made no special reference to the section. This was taken as a happy augury that the vexatious North-South issues of the preceding generation had been laid to rest.

That older problem of the nation in the South had been essentially a matter of the inequality which existed between the sections. The problem in southern eyes was one of escaping a vassalage that ordinarily comes to the weaker partner of a union. To the North the problem was one of saving its own common man democracy and its developing in-

¹ Professor Charles S. Sydnor presided over the joint session of the American Historical Association and the Southern Historical Association in Washington, December 30, 1939, at which this paper was read.

dustrialism by destroying southern variations from the emerging national pattern. The problem took specific form as each section experimented with various techniques of advancing or defending its own interests, until the logical techniques of secession and independence versus union and coercion were reached.

It is not pertinent here to review that phase of our history. What is relevant is to point out that when Arthur penned his message, whatever else had been solved, the basic inequality between the sections remained. Furthermore, in the years since 1881 the disparity has tended to increase until again inequality within the Union has now presented the nation with another stubborn problem in the South. When President Roosevelt inaugurated a new cycle by bringing back the South as a problem in presidential literature he was merely focusing attention on an issue that had become uppermost in the nation's mind. The South has been discussed so much in the past decade that there is little left to say either in fact or in point of view. The historian, especially, feels at a loss to explain anything so recent. He needs perspective of time and, failing that, tries to bring his knowledge of the past to bear upon the present, not altogether certain that the present is sufficiently like the past to be illumined by comparison thereto.

Nevertheless I should like to turn to the year 1905 when Philip Alexander Bruce contributed a volume entitled *The Rise of the New South* to the co-operative *History of North America*. Bruce's book was the first survey of the post-Reconstruction South by a competent scholar. It is not unimportant that he saw progress in the period and ended on a note of optimism. In his opinion the forces of light were more powerful than the forces of darkness and the South was well on its way to a prosperous future. He believed that the subdivision of large estates and diversification were tendencies operating to promote agricultural progress, the growth of manufacturing was wholesome, the extension and consolidation of southern railroads contributed greatly to the general welfare, the spread of public education was a noble achievement, the more rapid increase of the white population in comparison with the black population promised to ease the severity of race tension, and the

limitation of the suffrage was a statesmanlike solution to the strife of the nineties.

In contrast to Bruce one might remember that Charles H. Otken had a decade earlier pictured a gloomy situation in his *Ills of the South*. The Populists had written articles and editorials about northeastern aggression prophetic of many of Walter P. Webb's arguments in *Divided We Stand*. In 1896 John Spencer Bassett wrote from Durham, North Carolina, "It is narrow and uninspiring to live in this State just now." The critically inclined William P. Trent concluded in 1898 that a man of his views not only could not be comfortable in the South but also that he could not be useful. He left Sewanee for Columbia, partly at least, because he felt helpless in combatting "shallow thinking on political matters, provincialism of taste and sentiments, ignorance and vanity," which were, in his opinion, dominant southern characteristics.

The South was indeed a problem in Bruce's day although the fashion was to be optimistic. Nevertheless, Bruce was not unhistorical in emphasizing achievement rather than stressing problems. His generation knew from years of wrestling with past difficulties that the future would not be easy. The truth that they clung to was that progress had been made. From that truth they gained faith for tomorrow.

I have sometimes wondered why so many people assume an air of patronage toward the men and women who lived and worked in the South in the eighties and nineties. If ever there was a region which should write its history in terms of the strivings of its common folk it seems to me it is the South. The post-bellum generation brought southern development into harmony with this fundamental theme—brought it back from the errant path into which the glamorous heroes of the Confederacy had strayed. The prosaic struggles of working farms and planting schools are never celebrated with the flourish of trumpets but they evoked as much strength and as true nobility of character as the South has ever shown. Ellen Glasgow grasped this truth in her novel *Barren Ground*, a book, were I a Southerner, I should prefer above all others to be read as interpretative of my section.

The South had not yet become a "problem" in 1929 when the Amer-

ican Historical Association met at Durham, North Carolina. On that occasion R. D. W. Connor delivered an address of welcome in which he graciously and wittily reviewed the progress that North Carolina had made since the days of Reconstruction. Again the dominant theme was achievement, and the key, optimism. Dr. Connor's evidence indicated that politically, economically, socially, and intellectually a rural commonwealth had rehabilitated itself and now stood as a prosperous, progressive, and self-confident community.

There have been no such articles written about the South since 1930. We have had a decade where gloom has replaced optimism and apprehension self-confidence. Yet if this more recent approach brings out the problems, it is important to remember that Connor's onetime emphasis on achievement has not lost its validity for the historian. What is needed is a perspective that will take into account the various plus and minus factors in the equation and distinguish between the permanent and temporary conditioning factors.

The recent studies of the South made by the Southern Regional Committee of the Social Science Research Council, the Committee on Population Problems of the National Resources Committee, and the Conference on Economic Conditions in the South of the National Emergency Council give a fairly uniform picture. A land blessed with favorable climate, fertility, mineral wealth, transportation facilities, and man power has been reduced by its own wasteful practices and outside exploitation to the status of the poorest region of the United States. This economic unbalance constitutes a serious menace to the country as a whole. It permits an economic imperialism within the nation which makes a mockery of the union of equal parts and jeopardizes democracy in both North and South. A thousand and one stresses extending through the fabric of all our institutional life are created. It is no far-fetched analogy to point out that the unbalance of today has the same divisive influence as had the unbalance of the 1850's. To the country as a whole the problem is one of achieving greater equity by adjusting its nationalism to the legitimate local interests of its sections. To the South it is a problem of adjusting its regionalism more harmoniously to the

dominant trends of national life. Momentarily this places the South in something of a dilemma. On the one hand, it clings to its "own dimly understood and still living past" with a wavering and not altogether sure confidence in the values of inherited folkways. On the other, it partially accepts with the same fluctuation between faith and doubt the blueprints of expert planners who point the way to salvation. A land whose life has been and is dominantly agricultural stands weary and with weakened defenses before an aggressive and exploitative nationalism that is primarily urban and industrial and whose seat of power is mostly in the Northeast, the section which historically has been most hostile to southern aspirations.

The historical explanation of the problem, it seems to me, rests partly on certain ills that are chronic in that they have existed for a long time and will continue to exist for some time in the future. I should include under these chronic ills, without discussion for it seems unnecessary to explain to this audience how they have affected southern well-being, such factors as a biracial population, legacies of poverty and waste, commercial farming, erosion, tenancy, and one-party politics. What I should like to stress is that these problems are relatively permanent. They have conditioned southern thought, practices, and progress in the past. Likewise they will do so in the future. The best solution that can be realized with them is accepting the fact that they are in the picture, studying their implications, and learning to live with them. It is my belief that Southerners in the past generation have gone far in solving these problems within the terms I have just defined. It is not the chronic factors which produced the recent emergency but a combination of new developments which brought about one of the acute dilemmas recurrent in southern life.

Before turning to the new factors I should like to point out what you already know, that some of the worst ills of the South are psychological. I should like to include in this category the tradition of Reconstruction. There was of course a time when the physical effects of an unwise Reconstruction policy seriously handicapped southern development. But it has been two generations since the Compromise of 1877

and those Southerners who persist in explaining their shortcomings in terms of what they lost when William T. Sherman marched through Georgia or Franklin J. Moses bankrupted South Carolina are inflicting upon themselves an injury more serious and permanent than any penalty Thaddeus Stevens was able to inflict upon a defeated foe. History writing likewise has suffered from an article of faith which placed too great an emphasis on the destruction of Reconstruction. Only belatedly have efforts been made to discuss what proportion of the difficulties of the post-bellum South are chargeable to factors inherent in southern economy and sociology as distinct from the impact of revolutionary upheaval.

This I believe can be illustrated by tracing briefly our attitudes in the past toward the institution of tenancy. We have taken, from the days of Jefferson at least, the concept that the ideal American farmer was the virtuous husbandman owning and operating his family-size farm, politically a master because economically independent, educated in public schools supported by the taxes he paid, a citizen and not a peasant. Any other agricultural institution from the slave plantation to present-day tenancy seemed abnormal and untrue to the American pattern. Among Southerners Henry W. Grady gave the classic description when he predicted that the day would come

when every farmer in the South shall eat bread from his own fields and meat from his own pastures and, disturbed by no creditor and enslaved by no debt, shall sit among his teeming gardens and orchards and vineyards and dairies and barnyards, pitching his crops in his own wisdom and growing them in independence, making cotton his clean surplus, and selling it in his own time and in his chosen market and not at a master's bidding—getting his pay in cash and not in a receipted mortgage.

This must have been a dream because the actuality did not exist in Grady's day nor has much progress been made since in realizing it.

A lovely dream is a noble thing. But insofar as it blinds the eyes to reality it is a poor basis for analysis. The concept of the ideal has too much affected our study of the history of tenancy. It has influenced us too often to assume an attitude conducive of misunderstanding. Some historians were guilty of ignoring the growth of tenancy as was true of

certain students of midwestern agriculture who for years dismissed tenancy as peculiarly a southern problem. Some of the older economists explained it as the failure of the inefficient farmer in competition with the efficient. Many described it as a transitional institution from slavery to freedom. They even hailed it as a progressive step. This attitude is easily explicable in the days of Grady and Sidney Lanier. But little can be said for the good sense of those writers who continued along this line long after the evidence indicated that the transition from slavery was leading into more and deeper tenancy. Then too we have had students who accepted tenancy as a necessary and even a beneficial discipline which gave to a relatively low-skilled agricultural class an orderly and productive role in society.

Yet it now seems that tenancy is neither a novelty nor an abnormality in American agricultural history. It is older, as Dr. Marjorie S. Mendenhall has shown, than the war which destroyed slavery. Its growth has been constant. And the speed of its development has been in inverse ratio to the accidental benefits the farming classes have received from abundant cheap lands, free homesteads, and unearned increments. Is it fair to conclude that tenancy and not the free farm has been the norm toward which American agriculture has tended to move; and that the American dream of individual farm ownership has existed only because it has received natural or governmental aid?

Now this is quite important. It is important because it seems obvious today that, in the South at least, the continued rise of tenancy cannot be combatted without some form of subsidy comparable to the assistance farmers received in the nineteenth century. This of course raises the question whether southern agriculture and the life it has developed are worth preserving and whether they can be rehabilitated. No one wishes to substitute for a wasteful tenant system an equally deplorable form of subsistence farming.

The remedy seems to be to bring the efficiency of technological improvement to cotton growing and to develop the diversified farm in areas where cotton culture is no longer feasible. It is as unnecessary as it is idle to speak of destroying commercial farming in the South. Not

destruction but reformation should be the approach. Both economically and culturally the production of staples, especially cotton, has entered so deeply into the life of the South that it would be absurd to contemplate the removal of staple agriculture as the basic economic enterprise. If, however, a large number of tenants should be taken out of cotton culture and placed on diversified farms, then the culture of staples could be made more efficient, the number of self-sufficing, land-owning farmers would increase, and southern agriculture could be made to render a greater number and variety of livelihoods.

In any case it will be appreciated that this is an old problem—at least a century old—and that it and the other chronic ills of the South have produced an almost continuous sequence of crises in southern history. It should also be appreciated that the South has accomplished much in learning how to live with and move forward under its handicaps. Since the war, however, and by this war I mean the one of 1917, new factors have appeared to aggravate the situation and to produce the immediate crisis of the 1930's.

I wish first to point out that the South's dilemma was in large degree caused by the trend toward economic nationalism in recent years. This needs no development. Southern economic requirements rest upon the necessity of exporting about half its annual crop of cotton and a quarter of its tobacco. The shift of this nation from debtor to creditor status unfavorably affected European purchases of southern exports. This was evil enough. But at the same time came the high tariffs of 1922 and 1930 and these were more ruinous in their effect on southern economy than any of the tariffs of the nineteenth century, certainly more so than the tariff which South Carolina nullified 107 years ago. Cut off from an appreciable part of their foreign markets, the groups interested in the growing and marketing of cotton suffered a disastrous loss of income. So also did the many business interests in the South which depended for their own well-being on the South's major economic interest.

Certainly fair-minded observers would conclude that the South had a serious grievance against this form of economic nationalism. Even

granting, as I for one would not grant, that the tariff policy was good for the nation as a whole, it is not just to ask one section—the poorest section—to sacrifice itself to the national welfare when that sacrifice amounts to the virtual destruction of the economic base upon which the section rests. At that point the legitimate local interest of the region should be respected and the harm done to it compensated for.

A second factor is that the South has reached a point where its colonial status economically is as damaging to its well-being as was a similar status in the 1850's. Again I need not develop what has been so well described by others. The situation is an old one, but it has become new in the degree of its intensity. The rapid development of corporate enterprise and its localization in the rich and dominant Northeast greatly increased the handicap under which the South has long suffered. One would have to go back to Thomas P. Kettell's *Southern Wealth and Northern Profits* to find the same burning note of grievance over the economic unbalance that appears in the recent writings of men like Webb, Frank L. Owsley, Donald Davidson, Claudius T. Murchison, Peter Molyneaux, and Rupert B. Vance. Begging the question of the validity of their analyses, the conclusion seems inescapable that the South has been paying more than it can stand in its status as colony to the imperialism of modern American business. Much of the strain on southern agriculture is there as a consequence of the South's desperate effort to make its soil, minerals, and forests supply the constant and increasing flow of wealth northeastward. Many of the inadequacies of southern economy are traceable to the fact that the South has lost control over most of her own industries. Many of the inadequacies in her social life arise from the necessity of importing from the North a large proportion of vital services. This colonial status has grown worse rather than better in the course of the twentieth century and as it grew the South's problem became more grave.

The rise of urban civilization in the United States, especially noticeable since 1919, brought new strains and stresses to the South. It carried with it the demand for new goods and since these new goods were furnished chiefly from the North it increased southern indebtedness.

It carried with it the demand for new governmental services and as state and local governments responded there were increases in public expenditures and this made far more serious the problem of taxation in communities with relatively little taxable wealth to reach. The spread into the South of standard American institutions, services, and pastimes—schools, roads, public health, store clothing, electric appliances, magazines, cosmetics, movies, radio, and high-pressure college football—was testimony to the fact that the South was an integral part of the nation. But if sudden expansion disturbed the wealthier North it was bound to cause even more serious dislocations in the South. Out of its poverty the South was trying to keep up with the Joneses.

Historians of the southern problem will also have to ponder long over the influence of population trends. Throughout its history the Southeast has been prodigal in raising large families. From this area came a population surplus which has peopled the West and supplied labor for both northern and southern industrial areas. The presence of abundant new lands and industrialism relieved the Southeast of the necessity of facing this perennial crop of surplus humanity. But first the free lands gave out and then the depression and technological changes lessened the demand from the factories. The high birth rate in the South continues. The blocked exodus from the farms makes more serious the problem of southern agriculture. The importance of a surplus and relatively youthful population in a nation rapidly approaching a population level that is both static and relatively old in age distribution should be kept in mind. From this point of view the problem of what to do with these people has become a national one, although the responsibility for feeding, housing, and educating them has been left to an already burdened southern agriculture.

The population factor has made the South a low wage area. A low wage area invites industries seeking cheap workers. Such industries ordinarily use a large proportion of unskilled labor, pay low wages, and consequently their coming tends to perpetuate the low standard of living which first attracted them. I believe that a distinction can be made between legitimate industries that grow out of regional needs

and those which are brought in to exploit regional inadequacies. The former so far as they have developed have brought strength and well-being to the South. The latter have in many cases cost the community far more than they contributed. Too much of the industrial development of recent years has been of the latter type and this has added to the southern problem. In a sense the South has invited exploitation by the greediest element in our economic system.

So much for the new factors operating in recent years which, added to the chronic ills, made an acute crisis. Perhaps we have come near to adding a new danger in overstressing the problem of the South and in laying an undue emphasis on southern defeat, poverty, and frustration. We have said nothing of the many intangible values in the southern way of life that escape the statistician and yet add inestimable wealth to the assets of the nation. The South needs as much as anything confidence in its own resources, intelligence, and courage. No Southerner needs to be told that his road is an arduous one. No Southerner needs yet to feel that he is unequal to the task before him.

In relation to the magnitude of the problems besetting the South the history of the past few decades has not been a record of defeat. Together with the gloom there are happy aspects of the situation which may suggest that the final synthesis will give major emphasis to achievement.

For example, one of the most noteworthy developments in the recent southern past has been the conversion of the state governments to a new concept of their functions and responsibilities. New public services in respect to education, health and sanitation, race relations, communication, and the worker on farm and in factory have done much to revolutionize and improve southern life. Nothing has been more influential in bringing nearer to the common man the realities of a democratic society.

Wholesome, also, has been the noticeable awakening of public interest in the problems and responsibility of society. An outsider who reads some of the southern city and country newspapers sees a welcome contrast in the range and nature of the topics discussed to the news-

papers of the period before 1914. Closely akin to this is the vigor and intelligence of the critical minority in the South. A Bassett or a Trent would have no reason to complain today about the absence of free and rational discussion in the South about the South. Nor can it be validly maintained that the criticism is without result. As a matter of record the nation has seen some of its best and most penetrating critical thought during the past decade come from southern historians, sociologists, novelists, and journalists.

From these leaders has emerged a new confidence that the southern states can be rejuvenated. This confidence is not unlike the new burst of optimism which came to young Southerners in the era of Reconstruction. But today it seems more grounded on realities, its leaders are better trained, and the people better equipped. And perhaps it will discover and fuse with forces at work in the North to make for a more integrated and equitable nationalism.

A survey of the nation's problem in the South leaves one dominant impression. It is one of contrast—the contrast between the kind of South that men of vision could build for us all out of resources that exist and the South which is the consequence of waste and greed. Need the historian, from his knowledge of man's conduct in the past, shake his head and utter words of discouragement to those who suggest that intelligent analysis and planning might bring about a better era? Will divisions of race and class and section, monopolies and tariffs, jealousies and animosities prevail to ruin the aspirations of the expert students and architects of society? Perhaps it is better to let the future answer the question. But in my own heart there is hope because I see in the southern past so much of courage and slow yet persistent achievement in unrelenting struggle against great odds.

Imports of the Confederate Government from Europe and Mexico

BY WILLIAM DIAMOND

Hopelessly surpassed by the North in wealth, in material strength, and in economic resources, the seceded South, even before the outbreak of hostilities, was faced with the necessity of securing the basic materials of war. It lacked guns, cannon, and munitions of every sort; it lacked most of the raw materials from which they could be manufactured. The South needed clothing, medicine, tools, and, later on, food. It lacked the factories, too, with which to manufacture the sinews of war, and the machinery and skilled labor with which to establish and run factories. As a result the Confederacy, at the very start, turned its eyes towards Europe. The story of the desperate efforts made by the government to secure from foreign nations the supplies essential to enable it successfully to prosecute its struggle for independence, has been told.

Those efforts were desperate and urgent, but—at least until 1864—they lacked the organization and integration which were the *sine qua non* of success. The few students of the Civil War who have considered in any detail the foreign purchasing operations of the Confederacy have centered their story of those operations on King Cotton diplomacy, or on the financial experiments of the South and its more or less successful efforts to float loans at home and in Europe; or, again, they have concentrated on the personalities of the foreign agents, on their trials and conflicts with agents of the United States and among themselves, and on the mechanics of importation and the romance of blockade-running. On the other hand, very little attention has been given to the actual

materials that were imported, to their quantity, and to their relation to the needs of the Confederacy.¹

And small wonder, for the records are discouragingly fragmentary and incomplete. As the southern Secretary of State himself admitted, no account whatsoever was kept of the value of the government's purchases from abroad.² The quantities of imports cannot for several reasons be reconstructed from the cargo lists which appear in the official records. There is no reason to believe that the list of ships mentioned is complete. In only a part of the cases are the cargoes actually specified. The specification all too frequently occurs in such a variety of units that summation is impossible. More serious, the records of the cargoes come sometimes from England, sometimes from the West Indian islands where they were transshipped and prepared to run the blockade, sometimes from the Confederacy itself. Strictly speaking, only the third source of data provides the student with sure facts about imports, for—despite the partial ineffectiveness of the blockade—he cannot be sure

¹ See Samuel B. Thompson, *Confederate Purchasing Operations Abroad* (Chapel Hill, 1935); Frank L. Owsley, *King Cotton Diplomacy* (Chicago, 1931). Thompson's is the only volume entirely devoted to the imports of the Confederacy, but it contains very little that had not already appeared in Owsley's *King Cotton Diplomacy*. (It was under Owsley's direction that Thompson's work was written as a dissertation). Thompson's study is valuable chiefly as a convenient condensation of certain parts of the earlier and more lengthy book. For the student of Confederate imports it conveniently brings together the bulk of the available material which Owsley has spread through *King Cotton Diplomacy*. In neither of the two books, however, is much to be found on the quantities of materials imported.

See also, John C. Schwab, *The Confederate States of America, 1861-1865; A Financial and Industrial History of the South During the Civil War* (New York, 1901); Francis B. C. Bradlee, *Blockade Running During the Civil War and the Effect of Land and Water Transportation on the Confederacy* (Salem, 1925).

For a brief account of the resources of the Confederacy, see Edward Channing, *A History of the United States*, 6 vols. (New York, 1905-1925), VI, 612-36; Charles H. Wesley, *The Collapse of the Confederacy* (Washington, 1937), 1-46; D. H. Hill, "Confederate Ordnance Department," in North Carolina Historical Commission, *Publications, Bulletin No. 28* (Raleigh, 1922), 80-91. A more detailed picture of the needs and privations of the South during the war will be found in James Ford Rhodes, *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850*, 7 vols. (New York, 1893-1906), V, Chap. XXVIII.

² Judah P. Benjamin to John Slidell, September 2, 1863, in *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*, 30 vols. (Washington, 1894-1922), Ser. II, Vol. III, 885. Cited hereafter as *Official Records, Navies*.

that a cargo setting out from Southampton, Hamburg, or Havre, from Bermuda, Nassau, or Havana would reach its destination. The very fact of transshipment at the islands complicates the situation, for a large cargo sent from England might be kept in Nassau or Bermuda for months before it was sent out to the Confederacy in small batches. It is practically impossible to tell how these large cargoes were divided up when they were transshipped and whether or not the smaller runners reached port intact. Finally, because the record derives from three different geographical sources, there is duplication. A cargo, listed at its departure from England, might be specified again—in smaller packets some time later—as it was reshipped from the islands. There is no solution to this difficulty.³

³ As a matter of fact, there is hope of getting around these obstacles to some slight extent, though the results would be by no means complete and they would involve so much labor that the entire project might not be worth the trouble. Only by going through all the letters in the *Official Records*—for both the army and navy—can the most complete record of imports be secured, for the index is not trustworthy enough. Given that information, the student could collate cargo lists coming from England with those from the islands and from Confederate ports in an effort to reduce duplication to a minimum. The cargoes and the ships could then be checked against various lists of blockade-runners to find whether the cargo was captured or destroyed. There are several of these lists available, only one of which, however, even presumes to completeness. In the *Compilation of Laws and Decisions of the Courts Relating to War Claims* (Washington, 1912), 195-234, will be found a presumably complete list "of vessels captured and destroyed for violation of the blockade, or in battle, from May, 1861, to May, 1865." Here, with dates, may be found all the ships which did not safely reach port. Southern newspapers may be canvassed to find which entered and when. Occasionally, such lists may be found in *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 129 vols. and index (Washington, 1880-1901), e.g., Ser. IV, Vol. II, 52; Vol. III, 955-58. Cited hereafter as *Official Records*. Frequently, lists of ships which successfully violated the blockade were printed in *The Index*, the Confederate propaganda paper published in England by Henry Hotze, southern agent.

In The National Archives will be found row upon row of volumes of Confederate War Department records. They have but recently been turned over to the Archives and have not yet been analyzed. A cursory examination of some of the most likely volumes produced very little of any value beyond the hope that more might some day be found. If and when these records are properly catalogued and their contents described and analyzed, it is possible that more information on Confederate imports will be made available. It has been suggested that the records of the Ordnance Bureau, Niter and Mining Bureau, and Office of Foreign Supplies have been destroyed. See Dallas D. Irvine, "The Fate of Confederate Archives," in *American Historical Review* (New York, 1895-), XLIV (1939), 830-32.

A futile search was made in the various statistics available in the *Economist* (London, 1843-), and in the Parliamentary Papers. There was a wealth of information on English

Fortunately, there is one other source of information left; but unfortunately, that, too, is fragmentary and yields impressionistic and limited rather than quantitative and complete results. That source embraces the rather infrequent reports in the official records—reports of the President to Congress, of the Secretary of War to the President, of the Ordnance Bureau to the Secretary of War, of the Bureau of Foreign Supply or the Niter and Mining Bureau to the Ordnance Bureau, and the correspondence between any other appropriate combination of men in central positions. It is these reports—fragmentary, chronologically limited and discontinuous, often inconsistent and vague—that will be the basis of the following discussion.⁴

Arms and munitions were the immediate and vital needs of the Confederacy when the war opened. By far the greater portion of the guns, cannon, and powder belonging to the Federal government were stored in arsenals north of the Potomac, and a large majority of guns actually in the South were old-fashioned muskets and flintlocks, some of them in no condition to be used without renovation or repair. It is not likely that there were many more than 160,000 arms in the Confederacy, including those owned by state and minor military organizations.⁵ There was an even greater deficiency in artillery, ammunition, and in powder

imports from the Confederacy; but of the reverse trade, practically none. The reasons are evident. Material from Britain, after the first few months, was not sent to the Confederacy; it was consigned to one of the islands or to Mexico, whence it was transshipped to the South. The statistics of British exports to nearby foreign countries therefore constitute the best source for a study of Confederate imports. But these will give the student only the crudest qualitative results, for he cannot know what portion of the material was designed for the South, to say nothing of what portion actually entered the Confederacy.

⁴ The bulk of this material will be found in *Official Records*, Ser. IV, Vols. I, II, III; and in *Official Records, Navies*, Ser. II, Vol. III.

The imports of the Confederate Navy Department will not be treated in this study. It would be extremely difficult to separate the navy purchases that came to America and those that were used in European ports to fit out Confederate ships. Furthermore, reports of naval officials contain almost nothing of European purchasing operations beyond information concerning the efforts to build ships and ironclads in England and France. These subjects have already been well treated by Owsley and Thompson.

⁵ Josiah Gorgas, "Notes on the Ordnance Department of the Confederate Government," in *Southern Historical Society Papers* (Richmond, Old Series, 1876-1910), XII (1884), 68; Rhodes, *History of the United States*, III, 409-10, n. 6. Gorgas was chief of the Ordnance Bureau of the Confederate States.

and its constituent parts.⁶ Years later Josiah Gorgas, chief of the Confederate Ordnance Bureau, wrote a brief, though perhaps a bit exaggerated, description of the situation which faced him when he undertook his new duties in April of 1861.

Within the limits of the Confederate States, there were no arsenals at which any of the material of war was constructed. No arsenal, except that at Fayetteville, N. C., had a single machine above a foot-lathe. Such arsenals as there were, had been used only as depots. All the work of preparation of material had been carried on at the North; not an arm, not a gun, not a gun carriage, and except during the Mexican war—scarcely a round of ammunition had, for fifty years, been prepared in the Confederate States. There were consequently no workmen, or very few of them, skilled in these arts. No powder, save perhaps for blasting, had been made at the South; and there was no saltpetre in store at any point; it was stored wholly at the North. There was no lead nor any mines of it, except on the Northern limit of the Confederacy, in Virginia, and the situation of that made its product precarious. Only one cannon foundry existed: at Richmond. Copper, so necessary for field artillery and for percussion caps, was just being produced in East Tennessee. There was no rolling mill for bar iron south of Richmond; and but few blast furnaces, and these small, and with trifling exceptions in the border States of Virginia and Tennessee.⁷

Before the outbreak of hostilities the South realized the significance of this disadvantage, and individual states placed contracts with northern manufacturers. Even after the passage of the ordinances of secession, cargoes left New York for the South.⁸ But with the firing on Fort Sumter and the declaration of blockade, the situation was brought to a head. The provisional government had to find new and larger sources of war materials.

Two days after the surrender of Fort Sumter, on the very day on which Lincoln issued his call for 75,000 volunteers to sacrifice themselves in an effort to cement the Union more firmly together, the Confederate government commissioned young Captain Caleb Huse "to proceed to Europe, without unnecessary delay, as the agent of this Government, for the purchase of ordnance, arms, equipments, and military

⁶ Gorgas, "Notes on the Ordnance Department," in *loc. cit.*, 68-69; Rhodes, *History of the United States*, III, 410.

⁷ Gorgas, "Notes on the Ordnance Department," in *loc. cit.*, 69.

⁸ Channing, *History of the United States*, VI, 288 and n.

stores for its use."⁹ For the remainder of the war the official records of the Confederate State and War departments are studded with references to the urgency of the need for arms and for machinery for their manufacture.¹⁰ Additional agents were appointed to supplement Huse's work, and the individual states sent agents to Europe. In August Secretary of War Leroy P. Walker wrote to Henry Hotze, whom he authorized to purchase arms and munitions in Europe, that thousands of men were in camps ready and able to fight, but they had no arms. "We could bring into the field and maintain there with ease 500,000 men were arms and munitions sufficiently abundant."¹¹ And in the following spring Judah P. Benjamin wrote frantically to Huse to "give us small-arms and cannon-powder, or saltpeter, small-arms, and powder. These are our great needs."¹² In July, 1861, Huse was freed from the limits of his original instructions and was empowered to purchase what and how much he wished, limited only by his discretion and his conscience.¹³

Huse arrived in England on May 10. He literally scoured Europe for arms, and soon secured very heavy credits. His "capacity for running in debt," Colonel Gorgas reported, was the best evidence of his ability.¹⁴ Yet his first few months in Europe netted him very little. Apparently insisting on guns of the best quality only, of which there were very few on the market then, with relatively little money at his disposal, and in competition with Union agents who, he claimed, had unlimited resources, he found it difficult to secure the supplies which the Confederacy needed so badly.¹⁵ Despite his efforts, surprisingly enough, the first ship-

⁹ Inspector General Samuel Cooper to Caleb Huse, April 15, 1861, in *Official Records*, Ser. IV, Vol. I, 220. See also, Caleb Huse, *The Supplies for the Confederate Army* (Boston, 1904). Huse's account, written forty years after the events, is not to be trusted too closely.

¹⁰ See, for instance, *Official Records*, Ser. IV, Vol. I, 250, 292-94, 332-33, 493-94, 564-65, 594, 596-97, 969-70, 985, 1,018, 1,073; Ser. II, Vol. III, 687; *Official Records*, *Navies*, Ser. II, Vol. II, 80-81.

¹¹ Leroy P. Walker to Henry Hotze, August 31, 1861, in *Official Records*, Ser. IV, Vol. I, 596.

¹² Benjamin to Huse, March 10, 1862, *ibid.*, 985.

¹³ Walker to *id.* and Edward C. Anderson, July 22, 1861, *ibid.*, 494.

¹⁴ Gorgas to James A. Seddon, December 5, 1862, *ibid.*, Vol. II, 227. See also, Huse and Anderson to Walker, August 11, 1861, *ibid.*, Vol. I, 538-42.

¹⁵ See Huse's reports to the Confederate government, May 21, 1861, *ibid.*, Vol. I, 343-46; July 22, 1861, *ibid.*, 565-67; August 11, 1861, *ibid.*, 538-42.

ment of government supplies did not leave England until August; it reached the Confederacy in September.¹⁶ The first ship to run the blockade on government account alone was the *Fingal*; it reached the South in November.¹⁷ Thereafter, with varying volume, rifles, powder, and cannon flowed through the blockade into the Confederacy in astonishing amounts. The exact quantity is difficult to compute, so fragmentary and spotty are the records. Yet the figures available are in themselves interesting and indicative of the results.

From September, when the first cargo arrived, until February, 1862, only about 15,000 small-arms, including rifles, muskets, and revolvers, were received by the Confederate government.¹⁸ In approximately the same length of time, from April 27 to August 16, 1862, Gorgas reported that he had received 48,510 stand of arms, more than three times as many as in the preceding period.¹⁹ During the first twenty months of Huse's purchasing operations—in the face of competition from Union, state, and foreign agents all in the market for arms, despite his difficulty in securing funds and the early collapse of faith in King Cotton diplomacy—he succeeded in buying and shipping to the Confederacy a total of 131,129 stand of arms.²⁰ This total consisted primarily of British Enfield rifles, the best in the world at the time, and was made up of the following models: 70,980 long Enfield rifles, 9,715 short Enfield rifles, 354 carbine Enfield rifles, 27,000 Austrian rifles, 21,040 British muskets, 20 small-bore Enfield rifles, and 2,020 Brunswick rifles. With the guns came the necessary cases, molds, kegs, screwdrivers, and other accouterments. At the same time Huse had an additional 23,000 rifles

¹⁶ The first shipment of government stores of which there is a record was on board the *Bermuda*, which entered Savannah, September 18, 1861. See Joseph E. Brown to Jefferson Davis, and States R. Gist to Benjamin, September 18, 1861, *ibid.*, 614; James D. Bulloch, *The Secret Service of the Confederate States in Europe*, 2 vols. (New York, 1884), I, 71. Thompson, *Confederate Purchasing Operations Abroad*, 19, asserts that the *Bermuda* arrived September 28. That this is an error should be evident not only from the letters just mentioned, but also from the letter cited in Thompson's very next sentence, which refers to the ship and is dated September 20.

¹⁷ Bulloch, *Secret Service of the Confederate States*, I, 111-27.

¹⁸ Benjamin to the President, February?, 1862, in *Official Records*, Ser. IV, Vol. I, 958.

¹⁹ Gorgas Memorandum, [August 16, 1862], *ibid.*, Vol. II, 52.

²⁰ Gorgas Memorandum, February 3, 1863, *ibid.*, 382.

stored in London awaiting shipment, and 30,000 more in Vienna.²¹ All of these arms, raising Huse's total purchases until February, 1863, to 174,129, had been shipped to the islands before September.²²

How many safely reached their destination, it is impossible to say. Gorgas reported in December, 1862, that "a large proportion of his purchases have fallen into the hands of the enemy."²³ But the portion cannot have been excessive, for it has been estimated that for the Confederacy as a whole not more than one in eight blockade-runners were captured during the year 1862, and that even in the following year the mortality rate had increased to not more than 25 per cent.²⁴ Reports indicate, furthermore, that in the year ending September 30, 1863, the Ordnance Bureau, in its own lilliputian fleet of four steamers, imported 113,504 arms.²⁵

In the summer of 1863 all the efforts of the Confederates in Europe threatened to collapse, a crisis precipitated by the outbreak of a series of petty jealousies among the European purchasing agents.²⁶ Perhaps for this reason, with purchases cut down by financial embarrassment and lack of confidence in the chances of the Confederacy for success, records of Confederate imports of arms become vague to the point of inconsistency. From November 1, 1863, to December 8 of the following year, Seddon reported to the President, 3,146 cases of rifles and carbines, a total of approximately 69,000 stand of arms, were imported by the Confederate government through Wilmington and Charleston, the most important ports of entry.²⁷ But Thomas Livingston Bayne, chief of the Bureau of Foreign Supplies, reported for the slightly shorter period of November 1, 1863, to October 25, 1864, that 136,832 muskets, rifles, and carbines were imported into the Confederacy. Which

²¹ *Ibid.*, 383, 384.

²² Colin J. McRae to Gorgas, Paris, September 4, 1863, *ibid.*, 889.

²³ Gorgas to Seddon, December 5, 1862, *ibid.*, 227.

²⁴ Owsley, *King Cotton Diplomacy*, 285.

²⁵ Gorgas to Seddon, November 15, 1863, in *Official Records*, Ser. IV, Vol. II, 956.

²⁶ The story of the troubles may be found in Thompson, *Confederate Purchasing Operations Abroad*, 25-31.

²⁷ In Seddon to the President, December 10, 1864, in *Official Records*, Ser. IV, Vol. III, 930. See also, schedule of government cargoes, October 25-December 6, 1864, in George A. Trenholm to the President, December 12, 1864, *ibid.*, 955-58.

of the two sums is the correct one it is impossible to say, though one could make a slightly better case for Seddon's than for Bayne's.²⁸ The Ordnance Bureau alone, during the year 1864, imported 39,798 rifles, 1,716 pistols, and 4,740 carbines; and, Gorgas reported, there remained 10,000 or 12,000 additional stand of arms on the islands awaiting importation.²⁹ Even at that late date, when the blockade was nearing the height of its efficiency, it was lack of funds and not the Union fleet which placed the most serious obstacle in the way of importing arms into the Confederacy.³⁰

That is all the evidence of arms imported by the government itself. It may be tabulated as follows:

| | |
|--|---------------------------|
| September, 1861-February, 1862..... | 15,000 |
| April 27-August 16, 1862..... | 48,510 |
| September 30, 1862-September 30, 1863..... | 113,504 |
| November 1, 1863-December 8, 1864..... | 69,000 or 136,832 |
| Total..... | 246,014 or 312,846 |

This, be it noted, is the record of arms actually received in the South and only in the cis-Mississippi Confederacy. Even in this list there are gaps. All told, it seems likely that 260,000 to 330,000 or more stand of small-arms were imported by the Confederacy. These were only the arms purchased on government account. To the total must be added the unknown quantities imported by the various state governments, by private agents under contract to the Confederate or state governments, and finally by private parties and companies on their own enterprise, in quest of the enormous profits available from sales to the government.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 955. To be sure, Seddon's 69,000 represents only the imports into Charleston and Wilmington, *but* there were few other points of entry. It is possible that Bayne's report refers to the total Confederate importation, and not merely to that part of it which was purchased by the Confederate government, or to everything his Bureau bought with cotton, whether the government imported it or not. Finally, Bayne's figure exceeds by far too great a proportion the quantity of arms imported by the Ordnance Bureau which did most of the importing during the whole of the war.

²⁹ Gorgas to Seddon, December 31, 1864, *ibid.*, 986.

³⁰ *Ibid.* The blockade, of course, contributed to the lack of funds by preventing cotton from being exported to Europe.

It has been variously estimated that from 500,000 to 600,000 arms reached the government of the Confederacy from foreign sources.⁸¹

Accouterments and cavalry supplies came to America with infantry arms. Within two years Huse shipped to the Confederacy 1,226 cavalry equipments, 16,178 cavalry sabers, 5,392 saber belts, the same quantity of saber knots, 1,360 pommels, and 1,386 surcingles and pads. Tens of thousands of scabbards were bought in England and Austria and sent to the South. Huse alone, until February, 1863, purchased 34,731 sets of accouterments, 10,000 pouch pins for accouterments, 40,240 gun slings, 34,655 knapsacks, 4,000 canteen straps, 81,406 bayonet scabbards, 650 sets of sergeant's accouterments, 3,336 pieces of serge for cartridge bags, and 2,000 completed bags.⁸² The agents of the Confederacy purchased swords, and in the thirteen months ending December 8, 1864, 134 cases of them actually reached the two main Atlantic ports of the Confederacy.⁸³

Artillery and ammunition were also on the "must" lists of the agents of the government. By February, 1863, Huse alone had purchased and shipped to America 139 pieces of heavy ordnance, with accompanying ammunition and accouterments.⁸⁴ This artillery was to play a large and important part in the coastal defense of the Confederacy. As in the case of muskets and rifles, the great majority of the heavy ordnance came from England; but here, too, Huse's contract with the Vienna arsenal netted him a profitable return.⁸⁵ Among the 139 cannon were

54 6-pounder smooth-bore bronze guns

18 howitzer smooth-bore bronze guns

⁸¹ Thompson, *Confederate Purchasing Operations Abroad*, 45; Owsley, *King Cotton Diplomacy*, 290. Thompson's estimate "is based on the assumption that the records are practically complete. It is probable, however, that those for 1864 are incomplete." The estimates of both writers, however, seem to be little more than guesses. Of the imports not on government account, there is practically no evidence. See Frank L. Owsley, *State Rights in the Confederacy* (Chicago, 1925), 127-49.

⁸² Gorgas Memorandum, February 3, 1863, in *Official Records*, Ser. IV, Vol. II, 382-84.

⁸³ In Seddon to the President, December 10, 1864, *ibid.*, Vol. III, 930.

⁸⁴ Gorgas Memorandum, February 3, 1863, *ibid.*, Vol. II, 382. The text erroneously sums up the cannon to 129.

⁸⁵ Huse is supposed to have contracted with the Austrian government for 100,000 rifles, 60 pieces of field artillery, and the accompanying harness and ammunition. See Huse, *Supplies for the Confederate Army*, 26.

- 6 12-pounder rifled iron guns
- 2 howitzer rifled iron guns with carriages and caissons
- 6 rifled Blakely cannon with carriages, 18,000 shells, and 2,000 fuses
- 3 8-inch rifled Blakely cannon with 680 shells
- 12 12-pounder rifled steel guns with shot and shell
- 32 Austrian rifled bronze guns, complete with caissons, 10,000 shrapnel shells and fuses
- 2 rifled bronze guns with 200 shells and fuses, 756 round shrapnel shells, and 9,820 wooden fuses
- 4 9-pounder rifled steel cannon with 1,008 shells and fuses
- 220 sets of harness, spare parts for artillery harness, and other accouterments

There is no record of how many of these guns actually reached the Confederate armies and how many were lost en route. But the chances are that only a relatively small portion were captured on their way through the blockade, for it has been estimated that the ratio of successful blockade running even in 1863 was approximately four to one.⁸⁶ During the thirteen months from November 1, 1863, to December 8, 1864, forty-three cannon actually entered the ports of Wilmington and Charleston on government account.⁸⁷

Ammunition, powder, and the chemicals and metals from which they could be manufactured formed a large part of the cargoes shipped to America by the foreign agents of the Confederacy. By February 3, 1863, Huse had shipped 484,500 pounds of powder to the South. With the powder came 89,900 friction tubes, 4,137,000 cartridges for small-arms, and 10,100,000 percussion caps. Before the end of the summer he had sent to the islands at least 2,012,000 more cartridges, and 3,000,000 percussion caps.⁸⁸

While Huse bought powder, he was at the same time attempting to fulfill the requests of the Ordnance Bureau and its subsidiary Niter and Mining Bureau for the materials from which it could be made. It has been estimated that the entire supply of gunpowder in the Confederacy at the start of the war was hardly enough for a month of action. A

⁸⁶ Owsley, *King Cotton Diplomacy*, 285.

⁸⁷ In Seddon to the President, December 10, 1864, in *Official Records*, Ser. IV, Vol. III, 930.

⁸⁸ Gorgas Memorandum, February 3, 1863, *ibid.*, Vol. II, 383; McRae to Gorgas, September 4, 1863, *ibid.*, 889.

powder manufactory was immediately established, but the caves of Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia, and Arkansas could not produce the required amount of niter, and reliance was placed in foreign supplies.³⁹ According to the report of the Niter and Mining Bureau, the importation of niter up until the end of 1862 exceeded the home production.⁴⁰ During Huse's first twenty months in Europe he shipped 1,024 hundred-weight of saltpeter and 2,800 pounds of potassium chlorate.⁴¹ But demands for it increased more than for anything else. Even the requirements of the Commissary General gave way before the orders for niter.⁴² Unfortunately, the records are again deficient. All that can be said with certainty is that imports remained one of the chief sources of the Confederacy's supply of saltpeter,⁴³ and that from November 1, 1863, to December 8, 1864, the astonishing total of 1,933,000 pounds safely arrived in the ports of Wilmington and Charleston.⁴⁴ The director of the Confederate powder works estimated that a grand total of 2,700,000 pounds of niter were received from Europe and sent to the Confederate powder factories at Augusta. This, added to the home production, "proved to be adequate to our needs," he wrote.⁴⁵

Lead, like saltpeter, was one of the essential war materials, and the Confederacy was forced to depend to a great extent on foreign sources for its supply. In midsummer of 1862 the superintendent of the Niter and Mining Bureau reported that all deficiencies in lead had so far been met by importations.⁴⁶ A year later Gorgas "urgently" called for a supply of lead.⁴⁷

Fortunately, the record is fairly complete so far as lead is concerned.

³⁹ George W. Rains, *History of the Confederate Powder Works* (Augusta, 1882), *passim*. Rains was chief of the powder factory at Augusta. See Hill, "Confederate Ordnance Bureau," in *loc. cit.*, 84-86.

⁴⁰ Isaac M. St. John, superintendent, to Seddon, December 3, 1862, in *Official Records*, Ser. IV, Vol. II, 222.

⁴¹ Gorgas Memorandum, February 3, 1863, *ibid.*, 383.

⁴² Seddon to Louis Heyliger, October 17, 1863, *ibid.*, 877.

⁴³ Gorgas to Seddon, October 13, 1864, *ibid.*, Vol. III, 733.

⁴⁴ In Seddon to the President, December 10, 1864, *ibid.*, 930.

⁴⁵ Rains, *History of the Confederate Powder Works*, 7.

⁴⁶ St. John to George W. Randolph, July 31, 1862, in *Official Records*, Ser. IV, Vol. II, 30.

⁴⁷ Heyliger to Seddon, Nassau, July 14, 1863, *ibid.*, 634.

Huse purchased and shipped 1,013 hundredweight, or 101,300 pounds, by February, 1863.⁴⁸ From January 1, 1863, to January 1, 1865, the Niter and Mining Bureau imported and received 1,909,800 pounds of the metal. This was 39.8 per cent of the total supply of the Confederacy, and was exclusive of the importations from Mexico, one of the most important sources, which were inextricably combined with the remainder of the trans-Mississippi supply. The mines at Wytheville, Virginia, remained the only large source of lead other than imports east of the Mississippi.⁴⁹ And yet, despite the bulk of the importations, Gorgas admitted to Secretary of War James A. Seddon in October, 1864, that he felt "more uneasiness on this point than on all others," for the "expenditure of small-arm ammunition has been very heavy and has exhausted all our efforts to accumulate a supply of this precious material."⁵⁰

Lead was not alone among the metallic imports. As a matter of fact, one of the most serious deficiencies of the South was its lack of available and working mineral resources. Iron, lead, copper, steel, tin, and zinc were basic materials for the prosecution of the war. The Confederate government recognized this fact, and realized its weakness, and from the very start made every effort to supplement its own meager supply of raw materials from foreign sources. Up until February, 1863, Huse shipped back to America 10,000 pounds of sheet copper.⁵¹ During the two years ending January 1, 1865, the Niter and Mining Bureau imported 31,208.7 pounds, almost 4 per cent of the total Confederate supply during that period. Had not the war ended in the spring of 1865, the Confederate government would have found itself forced to depend far more heavily on a foreign supply of copper, for by the end of the preceding year the Ducktown mines, from which came 90 per cent of its total, had been taken by the enemy.⁵²

⁴⁸ Gorgas Memorandum, February 3, 1863, *ibid.*, 383.

⁴⁹ In Report of Richard Morton, acting chief of Niter and Mining Bureau, January 1, 1865, *ibid.*, Vol. III, 990.

⁵⁰ Gorgas to Seddon, October 13, 1864, *ibid.*, 733.

⁵¹ Gorgas Memorandum, February 3, 1863, *ibid.*, Vol. II, 383.

⁵² In Morton's Report, January 1, 1865, *ibid.*, Vol. III, 990.

Lack of iron was a serious blow to the Confederacy. Scrap iron was collected from every possible source, and efforts were made to persuade citizens to contribute to the common fund any material made of iron or tin they might have.⁵³ Seddon, in 1863, reported the possibility of a serious deficiency of iron in government supplies. "The most serious embarrassment to be apprehended in reference to the ordnance supplies," he announced, "is in the deficiency of iron."⁵⁴ By that time Huse had already shipped to the Confederacy 64 hundredweight of steel and 75 additional packages, and 1,192 boxes of tin plate.⁵⁵ Before the end of the summer he had sent at least 286 ingots of tin.⁵⁶ Iron plates and boiler iron were imported into the Confederacy throughout the war.⁵⁷ In 1864 Europe was still the chief source of steel.⁵⁸

The record here is discouragingly fragmentary. The student must content himself with an indication of the importance of these imports rather than with a complete quantitative measure of them, and this he can get, in part, by examining the cargoes of the twenty-eight ships which entered the ports of Wilmington and Charleston during the short period of six weeks from October 25 to December 7, 1864. Fortunately, that record has been preserved.⁵⁹

| | | | |
|------------------|------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| Lead | 150 pkgs. and 10 rolls | Pig iron | 5 tons |
| Pig lead | 7 casks | Sheet iron | 5 bundles |
| Copper | 24 casks | Iron | 5 bundles |
| Copper bolts . . | 4 bundles | Steel | 26 cases and 3 casks |
| Tin | 8 casks | Railroad ties . . | 1,000 bundles |
| Tin plate . . . | 110 boxes | Zinc | 29 cases |
| Oil | 20 barrels | "Metal" | 6 casks |

⁵³ See, for instance, report of railroad convention, in P. V. Daniel, Jr., to Seddon, April 22, 1863, *ibid.*, Vol. II, 501-502.

⁵⁴ See Seddon to the President, January 3, 1863, *ibid.*, 291; St. John to Seddon, [October 1, 1864], *ibid.*, Vol. III, 695; James Ford Rhodes, *History of the Civil War, 1861-1865* (New York, 1917), 369, 374 ff.

⁵⁵ Gorgas Memorandum, February 3, 1863, in *Official Records*, Ser. IV, Vol. II, 383.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*; McRae to Gorgas, September 4, 1863, *ibid.*, 889.

⁵⁷ See, for instance, Heyliger to Benjamin, October 13, 1862, in *Official Records*, Navier, Ser. II, Vol. III, 552; *id.* to Seddon, January 10, 1863, in *Official Records*, Ser. IV, Vol. II, 335-36.

⁵⁸ Gorgas to Seddon, December 12, 1864, in *Official Records*, Ser. IV, Vol. III, 988.

⁵⁹ In Trenholm to the President, December 12, 1864, *ibid.*, 955-58.

Although, in the decade before the outbreak of the war, parts of the South had begun to make limited progress on the path towards industrialization, the section as a whole still had an overwhelmingly agricultural economy. Machinery and tools were basic needs of the Confederacy, for its lack of manufacturing establishments made it imperative that factories be built and started working at once. With the start of the war the government was forced to adopt a paternalistic attitude towards the establishment of manufactures, but it was gravely hindered by the lack of equipment and skilled mechanics.⁶⁰

Government factories were very seriously "retarded by the great scarcity not only of the requisite machinery but also of the means of making it." In an effort to relieve the situation, Congress, in October, 1862, authorized the President "to import free of duty machinery or materials for the manufacture of clothing and shoes for the army," and even permitted the same privilege to be extended to private industry. There is only the vaguest record of the machinery that was imported for the government itself. By far the greater portion of factory equipment bought in Europe must have been imported by private companies,⁶¹ for the Confederacy undertook relatively little manufacturing on its own accord. Yet even the government—for its powder and mining establishments, for its arsenals and clothing and shoe factories—imported machinery, screws, castings, grate bars, bearers, boilers, steam chests, picks, wire, files, vises, bellows, anvils, axes, spades, rasps, horse-shoes and horseshoe nails, saws, puncheons, other kinds of hardware, bridles, twine, belting, and hose.⁶² Huse, in two years, bought forty-six sets of armorer's tools, thirty-six sets of saddler's tools, and ten sets of farrier's tools.⁶³ Before the war had lasted a month Secretary of War Walker suggested that an agent be sent to England to copy plans

⁶⁰ See Wesley, *Collapse of the Confederacy*, 19-20. For a discussion of the relation of the government to manufacturing, see Charles W. Ramsdell, "The Control of Manufacturing by the Confederate Government," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (Cedar Rapids, 1914-), VIII (1922), 231-49.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 233.

⁶² In Trenholm to the President, December 12, 1864, in *Official Records*, Ser. IV, Vol. III, 955-58.

⁶³ Gorgas Memorandum, February 3, 1863, *ibid.*, Vol. II, 383.

for machines necessary for the manufacture of Springfield rifles and for the actual machinery;⁶⁴ Huse himself, as one of his first duties, secured drawings of the Armstrong gun and directions for its manufacture, and forwarded them to America.⁶⁵ As late as 1865 orders were sent to England for special machinery for a new laboratory for the Ordnance Department. But none reached the Confederacy before the war ended.⁶⁶

The deficiency of skilled mechanics to work in the factories when machinery was there, was a continuing bone of contention between the directors of both government and private establishments and the conscription officers of the Confederacy.⁶⁷ Efforts were made to detail skilled workers in the armies to specialized jobs, or to exempt them from military service altogether.⁶⁸ But this was not enough, and resort was had to the importation of workers. Before the war had progressed very far a railroad convention held in Richmond tried to impress upon the Secretary of War the necessity of importing skilled mechanics from Europe,⁶⁹ and some were actually brought to America. "Skilled workmen," Jefferson Davis wrote, "experts in various mechanical pursuits, indispensable in the foundries, laboratories, arsenals, machine-shops, and factories, have been engaged in Europe under contracts which guarantee to them immunity from the obligation of bearing arms, and many immigrants are now on their way to the Confederacy on the faith of those contracts."⁷⁰ But those imported were negligible compared to those who were leaving the factories, and by the end of 1864 Gorgas

⁶⁴ Walker to Howell Cobb, May 7, 1861, *ibid.*, Vol. I, 293.

⁶⁵ Huse to [Gorgas], May 21, 1861, *ibid.*, 345.

⁶⁶ Jennings C. Wise, *The Long Arm of General Lee*, 2 vols. (Lynchburg, 1915), I, 46.

⁶⁷ See Ramsdell, "The Control of Manufacturing by the Confederate Government," in *loc. cit.*, 234 ff.

⁶⁸ See, for instance, Cooper to Robert E. Lee, February 7, 1862, in *Official Records*, Ser. IV, Vol. I, 911; Robert H. Chilton to Abraham C. Myers, January 13, 1862, *ibid.*, 839-40; General Orders, No. 82, November 3, 1862, *ibid.*, Vol. II, 160-62, 166-67.

⁶⁹ Report of railroad convention, in Daniel to Seddon, April 22, 1863, *ibid.*, 505, 510.

⁷⁰ Davis to the Governors of the Confederate States, September 19, 1864, *ibid.*, Vol. III, 670-71. See also, St. John to Seddon, [October 1, 1864], *ibid.*, 696.

lamented that whereas two years earlier there had been no machinery, there was now a surplus—but no one to run it.⁷¹

By the end of 1863 and the spring of 1864 the situation so far as arms were concerned had eased considerably. The arsenals and powder factories added to the importations were supplying the main needs of the Confederacy in arms and ammunition. Gorgas, on October 29, 1863, wrote in his diary, "We are now in a condition to carry on the war for an indefinite period . . . we have war material sufficient—men, guns, powder—the real pinch is in the Treasury."⁷² But though the demands for munitions had been to some extent appeased, the same was not true in the case of food and clothing. The needs of the Confederate armies for these two necessities, though they became apparent later than the need for munitions, continued longer and became progressively accentuated. Closely associated with the deficiency of food and clothing was the steady decline of the Confederate railroads. And here, too, the necessity for relief and foreign supplies, though it started later, grew ever more acute.

It is generally agreed today that the breakdown of its transportation system was a large factor in the final collapse of the Confederacy. The Civil War "was the first great military conflict in which railroads were a highly important factor," and the Confederacy's inability to solve its railroad problem contributed to its defeat. That failure was due "partly to the industrial unpreparedness of the South, partly to the shortsighted policy of leaving the task of maintenance to the stockholders, although depriving them of the use of workmen and materials, partly to the apparent inability to comprehend the essentially public character and responsibility of the roads, and partly to an ingrained abhorrence of extending the activities of the general government into the field reserved to the states or to private enterprise." Throughout the Confed-

⁷¹ Gorgas to Seddon, October 13, 1864, *ibid.*, 733, 734. See also, *id.* to *id.*, February 2, 1865, *ibid.*, 1,054-55; *id.* to John C. Breckinridge, February 9, 1865, *ibid.*, 1,071; Breckinridge to the President, February 18, 1865, *ibid.*, 1,095; Stephen R. Mallory to *id.* and enclosure, July 1, 1864, *ibid.*, 520-23; Channing, *History of the United States*, VI, 618.

⁷² Channing, *History of the United States*, VI, 616-17. See also, Seddon to Davis, January 3, 1863, in *Official Records*, Ser. IV, Vol. II, 291.

eracy the roads were permitted to run down; tracks, road equipment, rolling stock were neglected, wore out, and were rarely replaced. The situation became steadily more serious as the war progressed.⁷³

Before the war had been going on a year it was pointed out to the Secretary of War that under "the enormous pressure of freight the locomotives and cars are rapidly wearing out, and the period is not distant when transportation upon the roads will be exceedingly difficult, and on many routes impossible."⁷⁴ But unfortunately, the material for tracks, bridges, engines, and cars was not to be found in the South. Railroad men, at first both unwilling and unable to set up shops and mills in America, turned to Europe for their supplies. In early 1863 several railroad executives appealed to the War Department to permit them to import on government steamers supplies which were necessary for the maintenance of the railroads. Only partial permission was given,⁷⁵ and Captain John M. Robinson went to Europe for five Virginia companies and purchased small quantities of materials sufficient to provide for their maintenance for one or two years.⁷⁶ When it was suggested that the government persuade the railroads of the Confederacy to send Robinson back to Europe for more supplies,⁷⁷ Seddon replied that he did not wish to intervene and that the railroads must act on their own initiative.⁷⁸ When the government itself began to purchase railroad materials—and how much it actually imported—is not known, but that it did import is certain. From October 25 to December 6, 1864, the Confederacy alone brought into the ports of Wilmington and Charleston 1,000 bundles of railroad ties.⁷⁹ However, the railroad supplies

⁷³ Charles W. Ramsdell, "The Confederate Government and the Railroads," in *American Historical Review*, XXII (1917), 794-810. Somewhat the same material, in condensed form, will be found in Wesley, *Collapse of the Confederacy*, 34-42. See also, Douglas S. Freeman, *R. E. Lee: A Biography*, 4 vols. (New York, 1934-1935), III, 248-50.

⁷⁴ Neill S. Brown to Benjamin, January 12, 1862, in *Official Records*, Ser. IV, Vol. I, 839.

⁷⁵ Daniel to Seddon, February 12, 1863, *ibid.*, Vol. II, 394-95.

⁷⁶ *Id.* to *id.*, September 30, 1863, *ibid.*, 841.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 841-42.

⁷⁸ Seddon to Daniel, October 3, 1863, *ibid.*, 852.

⁷⁹ In Trenholm to the President, December 12, 1864, *ibid.*, Vol. III, 955-58.

imported from Europe, even including those purchased by the companies themselves, were almost negligible.⁸⁰

At various times in the course of the war—and in various places—the Confederates found themselves faced with a very serious shortage of clothing, and especially of boots and blankets. The hope of the Southerners for a quick victory had quickly been smashed, and before the end of the summer of 1861 the leaders of the government saw the probability of the continuation of the war through the winter. As early as August Secretary Walker appealed to the governors of the various states for clothing and supplies, pointed out the probability of a shortage, and emphasized the obstacle to imports provided by the blockade.⁸¹ Acting Quartermaster General Abraham C. Myers reported to the Secretary of War that "importations for the supply of our Army would be immediately necessary, embracing not less than 1,000,000 pairs of shoes, 800,000 yards gray woolen cloth, 500,000 stout flannel shirts, and 500,000 pairs of Irish woolen socks."⁸² Before the end of the same month the Congress appropriated \$1,000,000 for the purchase of leather, shoes, flannel, woolen clothing, blankets, and a steamer.⁸³ As winter approached Myers asked that a special agent be sent to Europe to buy clothing.⁸⁴ So short of clothes were the soldiers of the Confederate armies that despite a prohibition against taking Federal uniforms, an entire Confederate division was dressed in blue at Antietam, as early as September, 1862.⁸⁵ In January of the following year the Secretary of War reported to the President that "there have been at times rather scant supplies of blankets, shoes, and some other articles of clothing."⁸⁶ Because of scarcity as well as inflation clothing purchased abroad by private enterprise was soon selling at tremendous prices, three and four times as high as the European cost. It therefore became

⁸⁰ Ramsdell, "The Confederate Government and the Railroads," in *loc. cit.*, 804.

⁸¹ Walker to the Governors, August 7, 1861, in *Official Records*, Ser. IV, Vol. I, 534.

⁸² *Id.* to G. B. Lamar, August 12, 1861, *ibid.*, 557.

⁸³ Act of Confederate States Congress, August 30, 1861, quoted, *ibid.*, 584.

⁸⁴ Myers to Benjamin, October 10, 1861, *ibid.*, 688.

⁸⁵ Rhodes, *History of the United States*, IV, 152; V, 354.

⁸⁶ Seddon to the President, January 3, 1863, in *Official Records*, Ser. IV, Vol. II, 292.

essential for the government to undertake purchasing operations of its own.⁸⁷

Although special agents were commissioned by the Quartermaster, Huse remained the chief purchaser of clothing as well as of arms. Until February 3, 1863, he bought and shipped 74,006 pairs of boots.⁸⁸ By the following fall at least 2,000 had been sent to the Confederacy,⁸⁹ yet the Quartermaster General wrote anxiously to his purchasing agents in Bermuda and Nassau, "Our wants in regard to all articles of clothing, especially blankets, shoes, and heavy cloth for overcoats, are so great that it is of vital importance that we should receive promptly all that can be had."⁹⁰ In October Alexander R. Lawton told General Lee of the scarcity of the Confederacy's clothing supplies. "In view of the exhausted condition of our resources [in shoes, blankets, and leather] here," he wrote, "I am using every effort to draw a winter's supply from abroad."⁹¹ On the very same day he wrote an urgent letter to his agent in England and sent him money to

expend in blankets, shoes, and material for overcoats, . . . these being the articles most needed. . . . There is not a day to be lost in forwarding these supplies. So much time has already been lost in providing funds in Europe that winter is almost upon us, and we have barely time, using the utmost dispatch, to procure from abroad some of those essential articles of supply which cold weather will render a necessity and which the exhausted condition of home resources forbids that we should expect to procure here. You will therefore purchase, to the extent of the means provided, without delay, and avail, as your discretion may suggest, of the speediest and most reliable opportunity to ship the stores to the Confederate States.⁹²

The government must have impressed the desperateness of the situation on its foreign purchasing agents, for from November 1, 1863, to December 4, 1864, almost 550,000 pairs of shoes and boots actually reached the Confederacy.⁹³ All told, it seems likely that three quarters

⁸⁷ Larkin Smith to Randolph, July 31, 1862, *ibid.*, 30-31.

⁸⁸ Gorgas Memorandum, February 3, 1863, *ibid.*, 383.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*; McRae to Gorgas, September 4, 1863, *ibid.*, 889.

⁹⁰ Alexander R. Lawton to Norman S. Walker, October 13, 1863, *ibid.*, 872; *id.* to Richard P. Waller, September 28, 1863, *ibid.*, 828-29.

⁹¹ Lawton to Lee, October 12, 1863, *ibid.*, Ser. I, Vol. XXIX, Pt. II, 785.

⁹² *Id.* to J. B. Ferguson, Jr., October 12, 1863, *ibid.*, Ser. IV, Vol. II, 870.

⁹³ In Seddon to the President, December 10, 1864, *ibid.*, Vol. III, 930.

of a million pairs of footwear came into the Confederacy on government account.

Accompanying Huse's first twenty months of purchases were 170,724 pairs of socks.⁹⁴ They continued to come in throughout the remainder of the war. In six weeks, at the end of 1864, the Confederate government imported 12 bales of hosiery.⁹⁵ No more quantitative evidence than that exists. But if it may be assumed that the increased stringency of the blockade was more or less offset by the increased efforts of the government agents in Europe, it is likely that Huse's shipments until 1863 may have been doubled before the end of the war.

The Quartermaster General placed his reliance for woollens and leather on foreign supplies.⁹⁶ It was his department that was the greatest consumer of leather, which was required for shoes and for baggage harness; Gorgas' Ordnance Bureau, too, needed leather for cavalry harness and saddles. By the spring of 1862 a shortage was for the first time noted, and from then on extraordinary efforts were made to secure new supplies of hides.⁹⁷ Before two years of war had elapsed Huse sent to the Confederacy 50 sets of Webb harness, 456 leather butts, and 198 packages of leather.⁹⁸ The last were in all probability used primarily for shoes. How much leather was imported during the remainder of the war is unknown. But it did continue to enter southern ports, and in the thirteen months from November 1, 1863, to December 8, 1864, 669 packages arrived in the ports of Charleston and Wilmington.⁹⁹ In six weeks near the end of 1864 three bales of sole leather reached port.¹⁰⁰ Yet the evidence would indicate that "the relief furnished [by bringing leather through the blockade] was wholly inadequate."¹⁰¹

⁹⁴ Gorgas Memorandum, February 3, 1863, *ibid.*, Vol. II, 383.

⁹⁵ In Trenholm to the President, December 12, 1864, *ibid.*, Vol. III, 955-58.

⁹⁶ Report of the Secretary of War, January 3, 1863, *ibid.*, Vol. II, 292. See also, Lawton to Lee, February 5, 1864, *ibid.*, Ser. I, Vol. XXXIII, 1,147.

⁹⁷ Ramsdell, "The Control of Manufacturing by the Confederate Government," in *loc. cit.*, 244-48.

⁹⁸ Gorgas Memorandum, February 3, 1863, in *Official Records*, Ser. IV, Vol. II, 383.

⁹⁹ In Seddon to the President, December 10, 1864, *ibid.*, Vol. III, 930.

¹⁰⁰ In Trenholm to *id.*, December 12, 1864, *ibid.*, 955-58.

¹⁰¹ Ramsdell, "The Control of Manufacturing by the Confederate Government," in *loc. cit.*, 246-47. Ramsdell's evidence is based on letters from Lawton, quartermaster general, to Lee and Joseph E. Johnston, in January and February, 1864, in MS. Letter Books, VII, 554; VIII, 15, in Quartermaster General's Office, Washington, D. C.

In addition to shoes, socks, and leather, Huse—before 1863—sent to America 78,520 yards of cloth, 17,894 yards of flannel, 8,675 greatcoats, 8,250 pairs of trousers, 6,703 shirts, and 97 packages of trimmings.¹⁰² Before fall he had shipped at least 13,750 more pairs of trousers, 14,250 additional greatcoats, a bale of serge, and 3 cases of thread.¹⁰³ Both cloth and clothing continued to come into the Confederacy on government account. From October 25 to December 7, 1864, there arrived in the ports of Wilmington and Charleston forty-eight bales of cloth, sixty-two bales of shirts, forty-seven bales of flannel, one case of spool cloth, seven cases of silk, two bales of canvas, seven cases of woolens, twelve bales of hosiery, two bales of caps, nine cases of buttons, one cask of buckles, and six cases of thread¹⁰⁴—all on government account alone. The quantity bought by private companies must have been a great deal more.

Besides clothing and shoes, blankets were continually demanded by the Quartermaster General's department. From foreign sources alone could they be secured. It was pointed out to Lee early in 1864 that the Confederacy was "entirely dependent upon the foreign markets for our supply. There is not a solitary establishment within the limits of the Confederacy where they are made."¹⁰⁵ An incomplete record shows that at least 380,000 blankets slipped through the blockade. There were probably more, for about 316,000 reached the Confederacy between November 1, 1863, and December 8, 1864.¹⁰⁶

Food as well as clothing is an acute problem in every war. It was especially so in the South, where the basic agricultural staple was a nonedible one. Partly as a result of the deliberate policy of the government to restrict and limit the production of cotton (as in the case of Midas, the cotton stored in conformity with this policy was to turn to

¹⁰² Gorgas Memorandum, February 3, 1863, in *Official Records*, Ser. IV, Vol. II, 383.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*; McRae to Gorgas, September 4, 1863, *ibid.*, 889.

¹⁰⁴ In Trenholm to the President, December 12, 1864, *ibid.*, Vol. III, 955-58.

¹⁰⁵ Lawton to Lee, February 5, 1864, *ibid.*, Ser. I, Vol. XXXIII, 1,147. For efforts to secure blankets at home, see Rhodes, *History of the United States*, V, 354.

¹⁰⁶ Gorgas Memorandum, February 3, 1863, in *Official Records*, Ser. IV, Vol. II, 383; Seddon to the President, December 10, 1864, *ibid.*, Vol. III, 930; Trenholm to *id.*, December 12, 1864, *ibid.*, 955-58.

gold in the throat of the Confederacy, and choke it), partly under the pressure of a campaign of propaganda directed by press, planters' organizations, and government, the Confederates succeeded in increasing their output of food crops. Yet, strangely enough, the South—through most of the war—offered the paradoxical picture of combined plenty and scarcity. There was apparently sufficient food; in some parts of the Confederacy, and at some times, there was even an abundance. Yet many cities—far removed from the centers of production—found themselves faced with a food problem. And the army, through most of the war, found the situation more or less acute.¹⁰⁷ The blame for the situation must be placed not only on the scarcity of food, but also on the inability of the railroads to cope with the new demands and on the progressive disintegration of the transportation system.¹⁰⁸

In the fall of 1862 the armies began to feel the pressure of hunger. "The supply of beef has been very small," Lee protested to President Davis, "and we have been able to procure no bacon."¹⁰⁹ The Commissary General reported that the "supplies for current consumption have been largely aided by purchases of bacon in private hands, and those supplies are now exhausted. The deficiency of Government purchases of bacon represents a still greater deficiency in private stocks." "The future of beef supply for the Army," he announced, "is so nearly exhausted that this Bureau does not know whence more is to be obtained . . . the Army of the West must be nearly as badly off for provisions as any other we have in the field."¹¹⁰ As early as January, 1863, it was pointed out by Davis that the "possibility of a short supply of provisions presents the greatest danger to a successful prosecution of the war."¹¹¹ In the spring the food shortage was so serious that Lee became anxious

¹⁰⁷ See Wesley, *Collapse of the Confederacy*, 1-15.

¹⁰⁸ See *ibid.*, 15; Ramsdell, "The Confederate Government and the Railroads," in *loc. cit.*, 794-810; Freeman, *R. E. Lee*, III, 248-50.

¹⁰⁹ Lee to Davis, September 12, 1862, in *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XIX, Pt. II, 605. See also, William W. Loring to Randolph, October 7, 1862, *ibid.*, 656; Lee to Seddon, January 26, 1863, *ibid.*, Vol. XXV, Pt. II, 597; *id.* to *id.*, April 17, 1863, *ibid.*, 730; James Longstreet to Thomas Jordan, March 27, 1864, *ibid.*, Vol. XXXII, Pt. III, 679.

¹¹⁰ Lucius B. Northrop's Report, [November 18, 1862], *ibid.*, Ser. IV, Vol. II, 193.

¹¹¹ Davis to Joseph E. Brown, January 27, 1863, *ibid.*, 376.

lest "the spirit and efficiency of the men should become impaired, and they be rendered unable to sustain their former reputation, or perform the service necessary for our safety."¹¹² During 1863 and 1864 the Commissary General emphasized to the War Department the necessity of importing food supplies from abroad. Food from abroad had been expected in May of 1863, but only "a few mouthfuls" had arrived by June, and Commissary General Lucius B. Northrop was forced to the opinion "that there will not be enough meat to last until new bacon comes in." It became necessary to decrease the rations of the army.¹¹³ "The army is bordering on destitution in meat," he wrote.¹¹⁴ Meat was placed second only to niter and lead in the orders of the Confederacy to its foreign agents.¹¹⁵

The Trans-Mississippi Department, earlier an important source of beef and hogs, became inaccessible before the end of 1863. Sugar, once used as a substitute for meat, became so scarce that its use for that purpose was stopped completely, and it was given only to the sick. The Commissary General reported his conviction that "for the coming twelve months there will not be enough meat in the country for the people and armies of the Confederate States"; he felt certain that the soldiers will have to "bear the brunt of hunger as well as of arms."¹¹⁶ The situation grew progressively worse, until in April, 1864, Lee had to warn President Davis that he could not "see how we can operate with our present supplies."¹¹⁷

Several contracts were made to exchange cotton for meat delivered at Atlantic ports. An agent was sent to Europe by the Subsistence Bureau to make arrangements for a steady meat supply, and one of the general agents of the War Department was authorized to purchase meat.¹¹⁸

¹¹² Lee to Seddon, April 18, 1863, *ibid.*, Ser. I, Vol. XXV, Pt. II, 744-75.

¹¹³ Northrop to *id.*, June 4, 1863, *ibid.*, Ser. IV, Vol. II, 574-75.

¹¹⁴ Northrop's indorsement on Heyliger to *id.*, Nassau, October 3, 1863, *ibid.*, 853.

¹¹⁵ Seddon to Heyliger, October 17, 1863, *ibid.*, 877.

¹¹⁶ Northrop's Report, [November 20, 1863], *ibid.*, 970-71.

¹¹⁷ Lee to Davis, April 12, 1864, *ibid.*, Ser. I, Vol. XXXIII, 1,275. See also, Freeman, *R. E. Lee*, III, 246-48.

¹¹⁸ Northrop's Report, [November 20, 1863], in *Official Records*, Ser. IV, Vol. II, 970.

The Commissary General ordered his agents in Europe to purchase 10,000,000 pounds of meat,¹¹⁹ but the first purchase, probably made in May, 1863, consisted of only 2,989,944 pounds of bacon. Apparently there was money for more, but the amount was limited by the exigencies of the climate in which the meat had to be stored and the time that must elapse before it could be shipped to the Confederacy. In November all of it had not yet arrived, and Northrop insisted on a greater and more regular supply of meat.¹²⁰ Between November 1, 1863, and December 8, 1864, 8,632,000 pounds of meat actually entered the ports of Wilmington and Charleston, on government account.¹²¹ Yet in the fall of 1864 the Commissary of Subsistence declared that the entire Confederacy was "completely exhausted of supplies . . . the condition of the commissariat is well described . . . as 'alarming.' Our supply must come from abroad if it be got at all."¹²² At the end of the year importation of food supplies was as essential as ever,¹²³ but with no agents of its own in Europe the Subsistence Bureau found itself dependent on agents of other departments who had "failed to show any results" and on private contractors. Meat had been accumulating for some time on the islands, but blockade-runners, for profit's sake seeking to carry less bulky material of more concentrated value, were not bringing the meat in "fast enough to keep it from spoiling."¹²⁴

But ham, bacon, beef, and other preserved meats were not the only food products brought into the Confederacy from foreign nations. Coffee, too, was an important article of import. It became so rare that the Surgeon General ordered it not to be used even as food for the sick. "In consequence of the very limited supply," he wrote, "it is

¹¹⁹ Crenshaw to [Seddon], May 5, 1863, *ibid.*, 546.

¹²⁰ Northrop's Report, [November 20, 1863], *ibid.*, 970.

¹²¹ In Seddon to the President, December 10, 1864, *ibid.*, Vol. III, 930.

¹²² Frank G. Ruffin to Northrop, October 18, 1864, *ibid.*, 738.

¹²³ "If the army is to be kept up to its present numbers, it will require at full rations 81,000,000 pounds of meat. Of this a very large part must come from abroad, and much of it, of necessity and in common prudence, is wanted instantly." *Id.* to *id.*, November 4, 1864, *ibid.*, 784. "Foreign importations ought to be pressed." Northrop to Seddon, December 12, 1864, *ibid.*, 931.

¹²⁴ *Id.* to *id.*, December 12, 1864, *ibid.*, 931-32; Ruffin to Northrop, November 9, 1864, *ibid.*, 781-85; *id.* to *id.*, October 18, 1864, *ibid.*, 738-39.

essential that it be used solely for its medicinal effects as a stimulant."¹²⁵ All sorts of substitutes were suggested and used,¹²⁶ but it was imported too. Five hundred and twenty thousand pounds of coffee arrived in the South on government account during the thirteen months ending December 8, 1864.¹²⁷

Salt was of vital importance to the Confederacy, and its supply was far from sufficient. "The salt question is hourly increasing in magnitude and importance," the Inspector General of Alabama declared in March, 1862.¹²⁸ In November Northrop reported that the great "scarcity of salt makes it impossible for many parties to own their hogs,"¹²⁹ and in the following summer he told the Secretary of State that "in consequence of the insufficient quantity and inferior quality of salt among the inhabitants, much of their meat is spoiling."¹³⁰ At least until the end of 1863 the South participated in a regular trade in salt with the United States—a trade that was condoned if not encouraged by Confederate and state authorities.¹³¹ A great deal of salt also trickled through the blockade, but how much it is impossible to estimate. And some was imported by the government itself.¹³²

Medicine and drugs were scarce in the South, too, and the Surgeon General made every effort to discover and develop substitutes. Quinine and morphia were especially important. Laboratories were established to search the South for herbs that could be used for drugs, and pamphlets were issued by the Surgeon General describing methods for deriving medicines from common plants. Efforts were made to spread

¹²⁵ Order of the Surgeon General to medical directors of hospitals, December 2, 1863, *ibid.*, Vol. II, 1,021.

¹²⁶ Rhodes, *History of the United States*, V, 351; III, 545.

¹²⁷ In Seddon to the President, December 10, 1864, in *Official Records*, Ser. IV, Vol. III, 930.

¹²⁸ George Goldthwaite to Duff C. Green, March 20, 1862, *ibid.*, Vol. I, 1,010. See also, John J. Pettus to Davis, October 17, 1862, *ibid.*, 126; Barrière Brothers to Randolph, November 7, 1862, *ibid.*, Vol. II, 173-75; Pettus to Senate and House of Mississippi, December 20, 1862, *ibid.*, 250; Brown to Randolph, June 9, 1862, *ibid.*, I, 1,147.

¹²⁹ Northrop's Report, [November 18, 1862], *ibid.*, Vol. II, 193.

¹³⁰ Northrop to Seddon, June 4, 1863, *ibid.*, 574.

¹³¹ See Ella Lonn, *Salt as a Factor in the Confederacy* (New York, 1933), 161-67; Wesley, *Collapse of the Confederacy*, 6-7.

¹³² Lonn, *Salt as a Factor in the Confederacy*, *passim*.

poppy culture for its opium. A great deal of medicine was brought through the Union lines; the stories of smuggled drugs are legion.¹³³

From the very start of the war the European agents were authorized to buy and send back to America chemicals and medicinal supplies.¹³⁴ Huse alone, until 1863, purchased and shipped £13,432 10s. 7d. worth of medicines.¹³⁵ From November, 1863, to December, 1864, the government imported 2,639 packages of medicine.¹³⁶ Tea, "beyond the reach of all save the most opulent," was bought abroad,¹³⁷ and cod-liver oil and beeswax, too.¹³⁸ In six weeks only, near the end of 1864, there arrived in the Confederacy, on government account, 13 cases, 9 casks, 3 kegs, and 1 bag of assorted chemicals, a bottle of quicksilver, 5 carboys and 1 box of acid, 2 cases of bismuth, 340 boxes of soap, and 125 barrels of alcohol.¹³⁹ To save grain and transportation the Confederacy imported alcohol which, when diluted with water, was used as a substitute for whiskey.¹⁴⁰ Nitric acid appeared prominently among the chemicals required by the South.¹⁴¹

The Confederacy purchased innumerable other products from Europe. Paper was scarce.¹⁴² It has even been suggested that the "tightening of the pressure of the blockade may be studied in the deterioration in the

¹³³ William B. Hesseltine, *A History of the South, 1607-1936* (New York, 1936), 542; Wesley, *Collapse of the Confederacy*, 27-28; Rhodes, *History of the United States*, V, 352-53. Details of experimentation, contracts for supplies, etc., may be found through the indices of *Official Records*, Ser. IV, Vols. I, II, III.

¹³⁴ See, for instance, Benjamin to Huse, March 22, 1862, in *Official Records*, Ser. IV, Vol. I, 1,018; Seddon to James M. Mason, December 18, 1862, *ibid.*, Vol. II, 244-45; Gorgas to Huse, May 24, 1863, *ibid.*, 568; Beverly Tucker to Randolph, September 19, 1862, *ibid.*, 87.

¹³⁵ Gorgas Memorandum, February 3, 1863, *ibid.*, 383. A. T. D. Gifford and Tucker were purchasing for the Surgeon General at the same time. See Tucker to Randolph, Paris, September 19, 1862, *ibid.*, 87-89.

¹³⁶ In Seddon to the President, December 10, 1864, *ibid.*, Vol. III, 930.

¹³⁷ Gorgas Memorandum, February 3, 1863, *ibid.*, Vol. II, 383; quotation from *Charleston Courier*, April, 1862, in Rhodes, *History of the United States*, V, 351.

¹³⁸ Joseph Jacobs, "Some of the Drug Conditions during the War between the States, 1861-5," in *Southern Historical Society Papers*, XXXIII (1905), 169.

¹³⁹ In Trenholm to the President, December 12, 1864, in *Official Records*, Ser. IV, Vol. III, 955-58.

¹⁴⁰ Northrop's Report, [November 20, 1863], *ibid.*, Vol. II, 971.

¹⁴¹ See, for instance, Gorgas Memorandum, February 3, 1863, *ibid.*, 383.

¹⁴² See Rhodes, *History of the Civil War*, 368-69.

appearance of the daily newspapers."¹⁴³ The government imported great quantities of paper.¹⁴⁴ It imported hundreds of coils of rope,¹⁴⁵ it bought gunny cloth, fruit, rum, molasses, lifeboats, bagging, books, adhesive plaster, steel shot, "electro-stalls," crockery, *lignum vitae*, bunting and flags, glue, tallow, tarpaulins, shellac, and varnish.¹⁴⁶

All the material discussed so far was imported by the government of the Confederacy through Atlantic ports. But these were not the only stations through which munitions, food, clothing, and other supplies were brought into the Confederacy. There remain the tremendous areas of the Trans-Mississippi Department—the ports of Texas and the towns and posts in the areas contiguous to Mexico. The John T. Pickett mission of the southern government to Mexico was a failure, both diplomatically and commercially. "But the Confederate diplomatic ventures in the border states of Nuevo León, Coahuila, and Taumalipas, and to a lesser extent Chihuahua and Sonora, were eminently successful. . . . these states could sell their heretofore-unsalable products to the Confederacy at a tremendous price, whereas they could not sell to the United States. These same states could act as a medium through which European goods could be carried into the Confederacy," and could hence find a great source of revenue through custom tolls. And, as a matter of fact, practically all of the trade of the Confederacy with Mexico was with these border states.¹⁴⁷

It is impossible, however, to compute the Mexican trade of the Confederacy, to discover how much came through or was purchased in Mexico. The records are hopelessly fragmentary and inconclusive. Although

¹⁴³ Rhodes, *History of the United States*, III, 357, 546.

¹⁴⁴ See, for instance, Trenholm to the President, December 12, 1864, in *Official Records*, Ser. IV, Vol. III, 955-58; Heyliger to Benjamin, Nassau, October 13, 1863, in Pickett Papers (Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress).

¹⁴⁵ See, for instance, Seddon to the President, December 10, 1864, in *Official Records*, Ser. IV, Vol. II, 930.

¹⁴⁶ See, for instance, list in Trenholm to the President, December 12, 1864, *ibid.*, 955-58; list of blockade violators, from a Havana newspaper, in Charles J. Helm to William E. Browne, May 6, 1862, in *Official Records*, *Navies*, Ser. II, Vol. III, 413.

¹⁴⁷ Owsley, *King Cotton Diplomacy*, 119. Owsley has an excellent chapter on "The Troubled Waters of Mexico," 88-145. See also, Thompson's chapter on "Mexico as a Port of Entry and Source of Supplies," in *Confederate Purchasing Operations Abroad*, 103-27.

no one has ever investigated in detail the work of the Trans-Mississippi Department, it is known that it was practically autonomous.¹⁴⁸ Its chief ordnance officer was ordered to act under the direction of Lieutenant General Kirby Smith in his purchasing operations, and was apparently unconnected with the Confederacy's central Ordnance Bureau.¹⁴⁹ No report whatsoever was made of his expenditures; he was given full and complete control in the Trans-Mississippi Department.¹⁵⁰ Hence, no specific reports of imports from Mexico can be procured through central southern authorities. The records from trans-Mississippi sources (a multiplicity of agencies were involved in the purchasing operations) are incomplete and vague to such an extent that so far as permitting a summation is concerned they might just as well not exist. Furthermore, it is absolutely impossible to separate the Mexican trade from the European trade that came through the Mexican ports of Vera Cruz and Matamoras. The result is that only a list of the kinds of material imported by the government from Mexico, evidence that shipments of material were crossing the Rio Grande, and statements concerning the significance of those imports, can be given.¹⁵¹

Lead, sulphur, copper, powder, and niter were of the utmost importance, and Mexico's abundant supply stood the trans-Mississippi Confederacy in good stead. An unlimited supply of lead, copper, and powder was reported available.¹⁵² Quicksilver, wheat, flour, corn,

¹⁴⁸ See Florence E. Holladay, "The Powers of the Commander of the Confederate Trans-Mississippi Department," in *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* (Austin, 1897-), XXI (1918), 279-98, 333-59.

¹⁴⁹ Gorgas to Seddon, November 15, 1863, in *Official Records*, Ser. IV, Vol. II, 956.

¹⁵⁰ Lawton to *id.*, November 26, 1864, in *Communication of the Secretary of War on the Trans-Mississippi Department to Congress*, Dec. 8, 1864 (n. p., n. d.); also in Seddon to the President, December 16, 1864, in *Communication of the Secretary of War Concerning Contracts for Supplies in the Trans-Mississippi Department* (n. p., n. d.), both unbound (Rare Book Collection, Library of Congress).

¹⁵¹ "The trade conducted by this [Trans-Mississippi] Department with and through Mexico was immense and to the extent that a correct estimate of the volume would hardly be possible." Gertrude Casebier, "Trade Relations Between the Confederacy and Mexico" (M.A. thesis, Vanderbilt University, 1931), 35. See also, *ibid.*, 87.

¹⁵² Juan Quintero to R. M. T. Hunter, August 19, 1861; *id.* to Browne, August 22, 1861, in Confederate State Department Records (Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress).

leather, cloth, coffee, sugar, hides, sheeting, and medicines from the United States and Europe, horses, mules, and rope were imported from and through the border states.¹⁵³ Blankets and shoes came from beyond the Rio Grande, some from Mexico, some from England and Cuba.¹⁵⁴

Before half a year had elapsed Major Simeon Hart had reassured General H. H. Sibley on the subject of supplies: "Be easy about your supplies," he wrote; "we shall get all we want from Sonora—what this valley cannot furnish—until such time as you may be in full possession of New Mexico and can avail of its resources or such part as the hungry Federals may leave for your command."¹⁵⁵ The Confederate agent at Monterey wrote enthusiastically that "*Everything with the exception of small arms can be obtained here.*"¹⁵⁶ A few rifles, muskets, and carbines were available,¹⁵⁷ but these were not purchased in Mexico to any great extent. But of ammunition there was plenty: "Texas is well supplied," Juan Quintero wrote in August, 1862.¹⁵⁸ "The State of Texas," he reported, "has for some time been purchasing blankets, powder, lead &c from Mexico. The house of Oliver Bros. of Monterey have sixty waggons running from that city to San Antonio, Texas."¹⁵⁹ "The commerce between New Leon and Coahuila and the Confederate States grows larger every day," Quintero wrote in September, 1862.¹⁶⁰ "There are numerous Mexican teamsters and waggons engaged in the trade. Powder—of very excellent quality—lead, copper, tin, blankets, coffee, sugar, shoes, hides, cloth, brown sheeting for negro clothing &c are abundantly exported from this State."¹⁶¹ Brigadier General

¹⁵³ See Quintero-Confederate State Department correspondence, *ibid.*, and in *Official Records*.

¹⁵⁴ See Quintero to Hunter, November 4, 10, 1861; *id.* to Browne, November 6, 1861, in Confederate State Department Records; S. M. Baird to Edmund P. Turner, May 5, 1863, in *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XV, 1,075.

¹⁵⁵ Simeon Hart to H. H. Sibley, October 27, 1861, in *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. L, Pt. I, 683.

¹⁵⁶ Quintero to Browne, February 9, 1862, in Confederate State Department Records.

¹⁵⁷ *Id.* to Hunter, December 1, 1861, *ibid.*

¹⁵⁸ *Id.* to Benjamin, August 14, 1862, *ibid.*

¹⁵⁹ *Id.* to *id.*, July 5, 1862, *ibid.*

¹⁶⁰ *Id.* to *id.*, September 24, 1862, *ibid.*

¹⁶¹ *Id.* to *id.*, September 7, 1862, *ibid.*

Hamilton P. Bee reported "the great advantage we are deriving from the trade with Mexico. With the glittering attraction of our cotton the whole available resources of Mexico are being brought to us. Shoes, blankets, cloth, powder, lead, saltpeter, sulphur, &c., are now coming in in quantity which will soon supply our wants. . . I feel authorized to say to the general commanding that if he will authorize cotton to be purchased and stored at San Antonio every article manufactured in Mexico in required quantity will be brought here and exchanged for it."¹⁸²

In the fall of 1862 the Secretary of War sent Hart "to purchase army supplies from Mexico."¹⁸³ Quintero reported that in less than two weeks Hart bought "over a million dollars worth of army supplies."¹⁸⁴ Colonel S. M. Baird announced the arrival at San Antonio on May 5, 1863, of "some thirty-odd wagons and carts owned by Messrs. Solis & Munis . . . loaded with flour, shoes, and blankets. . . . [That shipment] puts the question of supplies for Arizona and New Mexico at rest."¹⁸⁵ Kirby Smith, two months later, recognized the existence of an "absolute want of army supplies in the Trans-Mississippi Department," and admitted that "the Rio Grande [is] the only channel by which they are to be introduced."¹⁸⁶ By the beginning of 1864 the Confederate trade with Mexico had apparently been to some extent interrupted,¹⁸⁷ yet on January 19 the Trans-Mississippi Chief of Ordnance reported that supplies of niter, powder, and sulphur "are being increased by shipments from Mexico, and I will in this way be enabled to supply the needs of my department, if the enemy do not cut us off from the Rio Grande. . . . Lead is supplied from Mex-

¹⁸² Hamilton D. Bee to S. S. Anderson, November 30, 1862, in *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XV, 882.

¹⁸³ Randolph to Hart, November 14, 1862, *ibid.*, 866. See also, Seddon to Bernard Avegno, December 22, 1862, *ibid.*, Ser. IV, Vol. II, 257-58.

¹⁸⁴ Quintero to Benjamin, January 30, 1863, in Confederate State Department Records.

¹⁸⁵ Baird to Turner, May 5, 1863, in *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XV, 1,075.

¹⁸⁶ E. Kirby Smith to J. Bankhead Magruder, July 27, 1863, *ibid.*, Vol. LIII, 885. See also, Henry L. Webb to Turner, March 18, 1863, *ibid.*, XV, 1,017.

¹⁸⁷ Magruder to William R. Boggs, January 6, 1864, *ibid.*, Vol. XXXIV, Pt. II, 835; Kirby Smith to Richard Taylor, January 15, 1864, *ibid.*, 871.

ico, and there are several hundred thousand pounds on the way."¹⁶⁸ Nine days later the chief of the Cotton Bureau wrote to the Confederate Secretary of the Treasury that "the chief source of supplies in this department has been Mexico,"¹⁶⁹ and in March Kirby Smith was certain that "Lead can be obtained in any quantity in Mexico."¹⁷⁰

Officials and officers of the United States saw the extent of the Confederacy's trade with Mexico, realized its significance, and urged that immediate action be taken to circumvent it. Thus, the Union vice-consul at Monterrey, from which a great deal of the material was shipped to Texas, wrote urgently to William H. Seward that a

great amount of goods [is being] sent from here across the Rio Grande. For more than one year a few goods and ammunition have been constantly sent in small quantities from this State to Texas, but within the past three or four months the trade has grown to be of great magnitude, and as it is increasing every day it is difficult to say to what extent it may be carried or what proportions it may assume if the Government does not interfere in the most prompt and energetic manner.

Large trains are daily leaving for the different points on the Rio Grande, though most of them go to Eagle Pass, loaded with blankets, shoes, leather, cloth, cotton goods of all kinds, coffee, rice, sugar, powder, saltpeter, sulphur, medicines, and, in fact, almost everything needed to supply the wants of the rebels.¹⁷¹

That was the information received in Washington in the fall of 1862. Two years later it was repeated by the United States consul at Chihuahua, who felt it necessary to warn General James H. Carleton that the

cotton trade between Texas and Mexico is very active, and the rebels are now supplied with money and arms far more plentifully than at any past period. . . . The presence of the French on the frontier will not impede, but on the contrary encourage this trade, and we may safely conclude that the rebels are

¹⁶⁸ Thomas G. Rhett to J. P. Johnson, January 19, 1864, *ibid.*, Vol. XXII, Pt. II, 1,140.

¹⁶⁹ W. A. Broadwell to Christopher G. Memminger, January 28, 1864, *ibid.*, Vol. LIII, 955.

¹⁷⁰ Kirby Smith to Cooper, March 18, 1865, *ibid.*, Vol. XLVIII, Pt. I, 1,435.

¹⁷¹ M. M. Kimmey to William H. Seward, October 29, 1862, *ibid.*, Ser. III, Vol. II, 949-50. See also, *ibid.*, 947-51.

obtaining in large quantities those supplies which are now most needed by them.¹⁷²

Toward the close of the war General Grant was informed that "Matamoros is to all intents and purposes a rebel port, free at that, and you can readily imagine the uses they put it to. There is never a day that there are not from 75 to 150 vessels off Bagdad, discharging and receiving cargoes."¹⁷³

The stream of war materials from and through Mexico continued throughout the war. Although the precise quantity of those importations cannot be determined, there can be no doubt that they formed almost the entire source of supply for the trans-Mississippi Confederacy.¹⁷⁴

These imports, from both Mexico and Europe, were of inestimable value to the Confederacy. To measure their importance would be impossible, although the records reveal many such statements as that of Colonel W. J. Hutchins, chief of the Texas Cotton Bureau, that "many of the guns and most of the powder which gained the victories at Mansfield and Pleasant Hill and won the campaigns in Louisiana and Arkansas" were imported.¹⁷⁵ More important are the numerous reports of Confederate officials, some already quoted, attesting the significance of the imported munitions, clothing, food, and machinery, the fact that they had supplemented home production, or that they had successfully filled and were filling certain requirements of the South. The importations were more than a mere stopgap, more than a temporary filling of the breach until home production could be geared to the new demands. Many of the supplies were basic needs of the Confederacy, which could not be satisfied at home. As the war dragged

¹⁷² Reuben W. Creel to James H. Carleton, September 18, 1864, *ibid.*, Ser. I, Vol. XLI, Pt. III, 245.

¹⁷³ Lew Wallace to Ulysses S. Grant, February 22, 1865, *ibid.*, Vol. XLVIII, Pt. I, 937.

¹⁷⁴ "It is hardly necessary to mention that the activity of this trade was a great factor in prolonging the life of the Confederacy, and made possible part of such success as was realized. Mexican factories supplied most of the war materials except the small arms and made arrangements for their procurement in unlimited quantities." Casebier, "Trade Relations Between the Confederacy and Mexico," 88.

¹⁷⁵ November, 1864, in Trenholm Papers (Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress), quoted in Thompson, *Confederate Purchasing Operations Abroad*, 117.

into its later phases, needs that might once have been temporary became permanent, for the South, while straining every nerve to develop its own internal resources, was at the same time exhausting them.

It can certainly be said that many of the efforts of the Confederacy to purchase war supplies abroad were crowned with success, though just as certainly the results completely filled neither the needs nor the hopes of the Confederacy. In the face of well-nigh insuperable obstacles the Confederate agents in Europe and Mexico went a long way toward giving the South the materials which made possible its long struggle for independence. A student of the Confederacy has suggested that the "first great campaign of the war was not fought by armies. It was a commercial campaign fought by agents of the Federal and Confederate governments and having for its aim" the control of European sources of war supplies.¹⁷⁸ The agents of the South did not win the campaign, yet despite the advantages of the Union the Confederacy was continually on the receiving end of a valuable stream of supplies.

¹⁷⁸ Nathaniel W. Stephenson, *The Day of the Confederacy* (New Haven, 1919), 48.

The Slaveholders' Indictment of Northern Wage Slavery

BY WILFRED CARSEL

Southern apologists for slavery were ever fond of the time-honored *tu quoque* argument. In the 1830's men like George McDuffie and Chancellor William Harper answered the abolitionist in kind and countered his condemnation of the southern slavery system with an exposé of northern factory conditions. As the antislavery movement broadened in base during the 1850's, and as the growing support of northeastern manufacturers and merchants of this movement became clearer to southern eyes, this counterattack was developed into a lashing weapon of formidable proportions. By 1860 it had become a standard part of the proslavery rationale, and some publicists, notably George Fitzhugh, made it a central thesis in their arguments. In general this counterattack consisted of three mutually supporting propositions: (1) that the condition of the so-called free worker of the North was already fearful and was becoming increasingly more horrible; (2) that the free-labor system enslaved the worker just as much as the chattel-slavery system; and (3) that wage slavery was infinitely worse for the worker than chattel slavery.

Matching the abolitionist technique, the proslavery spokesmen indicted the labor system of northern factory owners from the very admissions of the North. Items gleaned from northern newspapers and books, from investigations of legislative bodies and reports of administrative authorities, and from charges of workers, reformers, and radicals of all shades, furnished them with ample materials for a parade of horrors. Doomed to filthy, crowded, and foul factories, sub-

jected to the heartless driving of the "soulless taskmaster" under the most degrading conditions of labor, the northern workers, according to southern writers, toiled their lives away in a hopeless struggle for survival.¹ Their hours of work were endless and their toil, backbreaking; respite came only in the hurried gobbling of a dry crust of bread at mealtime. Typhoid, cholera, consumption, and other diseases ravaged them, producing bent frames, broken constitutions, and sickly bodies, and cutting off a full third of their normal lives. And their wages for such labor—a pitiful two dollars a week, on which to attempt the impossible task of feeding, clothing, and sheltering a family!²

Even under these conditions, charged the southern indictment, security of wages and employment was not to be had. Due to the increasing utilization of machinery and division of labor, the number of jobs was continually shrinking, while the number of workers was increasing and their dependence upon "those who possess the instruments of labour" was being riveted by unbreakable chains.³ The bitter and desperate competition for employment into which workers were thus forced enabled the employer to tyrannize without mercy and to force dependence upon his every whim. Wages were being slashed at every opportunity, and the workers, rather than face the terrors of unemployment, were forced to submit to "starvation in a slower or a different form."⁴ In times of depression the northern laborers were cast out into the streets by the thousands—fifty thousand in New York City alone

¹ "Modern Philanthropy and Negro Slavery," in *De Bow's Review* (New Orleans, 1846-1880), XVI (1854), 270; George S. Sawyer, *Southern Institutes, or an Inquiry into the Origin and Early Prevalence of Slavery and the Slave-Trade* (Philadelphia, 1858), 246.

² "Modern Philanthropy and Negro Slavery," in *loc. cit.*, 269; Sawyer, *Southern Institutes*, 246, 265. See also, the appeal of the New York shirt-sewing girls in the *Churchman* (New York, 1831-1861), XXI, October 25, 1851, cited in E. J. Stearns, *Notes on Uncle Tom's Cabin* (Philadelphia, 1853), 292.

³ R. E. C[olston], "The Problem of Free Society," in *Southern Literary Messenger* (Richmond, 1834-1864), XXVI (1858), 405; Stearns, *Notes on Uncle Tom's Cabin*, 293; "A Southern Clergyman," *A Defence of Southern Slavery* (Hamburg, S. C., 1851), 42.

⁴ C[olston], "The Problem of Free Society," in *loc. cit.*, XXVI, 405; Edmund Rufin, *The Political Economy of Slavery* (Washington, 1853), 8.

in 1857—and left to survive as best they could until industry might have need for them again.⁵

The consequences of the whole system of free labor were misery and degradation, which, proslavery spokesmen claimed, shocked them almost beyond endurance. Southern travelers in every large northern city were forced to witness almost incredible "scenes of beggary, squalid poverty, and wretchedness."⁶ Thousands of people in New York dined with their dogs on bones rescued from gutters.⁷ More beggars could be met "in one day, in any single street of the city of New York, than you would meet in a lifetime in the whole South."⁸ In New England 373,000 people, or one family in every seven, had no home in the world, and tens of thousands lived like swallows, sheltered only by the blue sky of heaven.⁹

Unimpeachable northern sources, the southern charges continued, showed that inexorable necessity and depravity attendant upon their degenerating conditions of life drove these wretched creatures into the most abominable crimes and the "most loathsome vices." Crime was multiplying in the North in alarming proportions and was assuming strange and diabolical forms. New York had its hourly crime and its daily murder. Poisonings, rapes, abuses of women, and wife-murders were of frequent occurrence. Throats were cut for small sums of money. "Bands of juvenile vagrants" roamed the streets, "'pilfering whenever opportunity offers.'"¹⁰ Sometimes desperation forced its vic-

⁵ George Fitzhugh, *Cannibals All! or, Slaves without Masters* (Richmond, 1857), 345; Ruffin, *Political Economy of Slavery*, 8.

⁶ Sawyer, *Southern Institutes*, 246; I. L. Brookes, *A Defence of the South* (Hamburg, S. C., 1850), 17.

⁷ *National Aegis*, April 13, 1853, cited in Stearns, *Notes on Uncle Tom's Cabin*, 289.

⁸ Speech of James H. Hammond before the Senate, *Congressional Globe*, 35 Cong., 1 Sess., 962 (March 4, 1858).

⁹ Sawyer, *Southern Institutes*, 360, 366; Thornton Stringfellow, *Scriptural and Statistical Views in Favor of Slavery* (Richmond, 1856), 121. Stringfellow used the Census of 1850 as his source.

¹⁰ Speech of Jeremiah Clemens before the Senate, *Cong. Globe*, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., Appendix, 52 (January 10, 1850), quoting from report of New York chief of police for 1849; Chancellor William Harper, "Memoir on Slavery," in *Pro-Slavery Argument* (Charleston, 1852), 39; William Gilmore Simms, "The Morals of Slavery," *ibid.*, 211; Sawyer, *Southern Institutes*, 239; Stringfellow, *Scriptural and Statistical Views in Favor of Slavery*, 141; James Williams, *Letters on Slavery* (Nashville, 1861), 91; "Education and Crime at the North and the South," in *De Bow's Review*, XVI (1854), 579.

tims to commit crime in the deliberate hope of escaping starvation through the prison door.¹¹ Female workers were often compelled to find in the house of shame the "'asylum, denied to them by honest toil and a life of virtue.'" ¹² Licentiousness reached new heights; in the streets of New York alone roamed ten thousand professional prostitutes,¹³ and even the southern white prostitutes were the imported products of the northern free-labor system.¹⁴ Drunkenness was often the only refuge for these workers, both male and female, and "loathsome grogshops" contaminated the cities.¹⁵ Sometimes the madhouse claimed them for its own, where, like beasts, they were chained in cages, lacerated with ropes, and left to crawl amidst their own filth.¹⁶

Inevitably, the free northern workers ended their lives in pauperism. In the poorhouse the worker was debased to even lower depths, if possible. His wife and children were separated from him. His whole miserable family was sold at auction to the lowest bidder; sometimes for sixty cents a week for adults and thirty cents for children. The buyer, whose personal interest coincided with his civic duty to reduce the poor rates, naturally worked his charges without mercy. Thus ended the career of the free laborer; thus were his children raised—to become another generation of the poor, new victims of the wage-labor system.¹⁷

¹¹ Stearns, *Notes on Uncle Tom's Cabin*, 291; "A Southern Clergyman," *Defence of Southern Slavery*, 42.

¹² Stearns, *Notes on Uncle Tom's Cabin*, 292, quoting from address of New York sewing girls; "A Southern Clergyman," *Defence of Southern Slavery*, 42.

¹³ Harper, "Memoir on Slavery," in *Pro-Slavery Argument*, 41 ff.; Simms, "The Morals of Slavery," *ibid.*, 229 ff.

¹⁴ [William Gilmore Simms], "Miss Martineau on Slavery," in *Southern Literary Messenger*, III (1837), 647; *id.*, "The Morals of Slavery," in *Pro-Slavery Argument*, 230; Brookes, *Defence of the South*, 18.

¹⁵ Williams, *Letters on Slavery*, 99; Simms, "The Morals of Slavery," in *Pro-Slavery Argument*, 188.

¹⁶ "Modern Philanthropy and Negro Slavery," in *loc. cit.*, 263 ff., citing Dorothea Dix's reports; Stearns, *Notes on Uncle Tom's Cabin*, 292; Stringfellow, *Scriptural and Statistical Views in Favor of Slavery*, 127.

¹⁷ Stearns, *Notes on Uncle Tom's Cabin*, 39, 53, 246 ff.; "Modern Philanthropy and Negro Slavery," in *loc. cit.*, 272; C[olston], "The Problem of Free Society," in *loc. cit.*, XXVII, 85; John Fletcher, *Studies on Slavery, in Easy Lessons* (Natchez, 1852), 220. Stringfellow, *Scriptural and Statistical Views in Favor of Slavery*, 140, citing the Census of 1850, claimed that 73,000 people in New York were receiving public charity, of whom over 28,000 were in almshouses, and that many others were receiving private charity.

Under conditions of this kind, the southern proslavery advocate pointed out, northern workers were mocked by being called free laborers. Being called free increased the gall of their degradation; and being called equal made them the more desperate. The contrast between their own misery and the opulence of their exploiters was glaring enough to affect even their dulled vision. Millions starved that "a few vulgar parvenu millionaires" might lord over the land. A thousand pauper laborers worked their lives away to sustain one capitalist. The overburdened worker on the streets of New York had but to raise his eyes to see the "wealthy nabob at his palace windows . . . reclining in state, under crimson or azure curtains, canopied like a prince."¹⁸ Small wonder that the northern workers were restless and dangerous! Strikes, unions, and riots menaced life and property. "Hunger mobs," bent on pillage and plunder, ranged the cities, threatening anarchy and chaos in their madness.¹⁹ The prey of unscrupulous scoundrels and of deluded theorists, they were transforming northern society into one vast volcano, the ominous rumblings of which warned of fiery eruptions to come. To protect themselves and their property, their masters were recruiting "standing armies," euphemistically called police forces, to hold their workers in leash, even if they had to be "shot down by scores" in the process.²⁰

The climax of the southern indictment of the northern wage system was that the free laborer of America was doomed to even greater degradation in the future. His impending fate could be read from the condition of the worker of England, where "the so-called free system

¹⁸ Simms, "The Morals of Slavery," in *Pro-Slavery Argument*, 220; Fitzhugh, *Cannibals All!*, 350 ff.; "Trade and Panics," in *De Bow's Review*, XXVII (1859), 160 ff.

¹⁹ Ruffin, *Political Economy of Slavery*, 8; Harper, "Memoir on Slavery," in *Pro-Slavery Argument*, 39.

²⁰ Hammond, "Letters on Slavery," in *Pro-Slavery Argument*, 111; Simms, "The Morals of Slavery," *ibid.*, 206 ff.; Robert Toombs, "Slavery: Its Constitutional Status, and Its Influence on Society and the Colored Race," in *De Bow's Review*, XX (1856), 601; George Fitzhugh, "The Message, the Constitution, and the Times," *ibid.*, XXX (1861), 166; "L. C. B.," "The Country in 1950, or the Conservatism of Slavery," in *Southern Literary Messenger*, XXII (1856), 430.

of society has had the time to work out its results."²¹ Stunted in growth, deformed in appearance, "with calfless legs and stooping shoulders, weak in body and mind, inert, pusillanimous and stupid,"²² the English workers spent their lives in the "'foul atmosphere of the cotton purgatories'" or the pitch-black pestilential collieries, and bred a race even more obnoxious to God and man than themselves.²³ Their children sometimes commenced work at the age of two; at five they labored for sixteen hours a day; at eight or ten they crawled like dogs, with belts and chains between their legs, in dark coal seams scarce twenty inches high. Their young daughters and wives toiled naked in the mines, ignorant of all moral codes, given over to promiscuous sexual intercourse almost from childhood; or fashioned milady's dresses in unventilated rooms, where they stitched for sixteen, eighteen, and even twenty hours a day "'without speech—without a smile—without a sigh.'"²⁴ Unsatisfied hunger always gnawed at their vitals. Sharp bones showed through their skins, and skins through the rags which but half covered their bodies. A hundred thousand Londoners rose each morning without the certainty of a meal during the day. Their infants starved or froze before their eyes. Ravaged by colic, asthma, consumption, cancer, and a host of other diseases according to their occupations, and subjected to continual hazard of life and limb at their tasks, they survived but half the years that nature intended for men.²⁵ Their dwelling place, if they had one, was the tenement in the "foetid alley," where several families were packed together into "a single small room, each occupying its respective cor-

²¹ C[olston], "The Problem of Free Society," in *loc. cit.*, XXVII, 92. The attack of Southerners on English factory and mine conditions undoubtedly had as one of its objectives the northern wage system; they had more material on English conditions than on northern ones; though, of course, they had a score to settle with English abolitionists too.

²² Harper, "Memoir on Slavery," in *Pro-Slavery Argument*, 53.

²³ Fitzhugh, *Cannibals All!*, 220.

²⁴ London *Times*, March 30, 1853, cited in Stearns, *Notes on Uncle Tom's Cabin*, 270; Hammond, "Letters on Slavery," in *Pro-Slavery Argument*, 135-39.

²⁵ Harper, "Memoir on Slavery," in *Pro-Slavery Argument*, 53 ff.; Stearns, *Notes on Uncle Tom's Cabin*, 87, 269, 273, 283; Fitzhugh, *Cannibals All!*, 262 ff., 269 ff.

ner."²⁶ Gin drinking and "opium eatings" were their typical comforts; infanticide, sometimes for a few pounds of funeral money, their characteristic crime. Religion was a stranger to them; a million people in London never saw a church; and some were even ignorant of the very name of God.²⁷

Such, according to the proslavery indictment of the northern labor system, was the fate of the free American wageworkers. They were already rapidly approaching the condition of their English brethren. How many years were to pass before they would be as completely degraded? According to Fitzhugh,

The competitive system . . . is carried out with less exception or restriction in America than in Europe. Hence, considering the sparseness of our population, the laboring class are worse off in New York, Philadelphia and Boston, than in London, Manchester or Paris.²⁸

By implication, at least, the fate of the northern free worker was to be even worse in the future than that of the English laborer.

This indictment of the free-labor system was accompanied by the postulate that workers were doomed everywhere, at all times, and under any system of social organization, to enslavement in one form or another. Capital was invariably the master of labor. Private property always monopolized the earth and of necessity destroyed the liberty and equality of men. The poor were always enslaved; though the titles of their service changed, the nature of their servitude remained

²⁶ Report of London metropolitan police, London *Guardian*, January 19, 1853, cited in Stearns, *Notes on Uncle Tom's Cabin*, 269; Hammond, "Letters on Slavery," in *Pro-Slavery Argument*, 137; William J. Grayson, *The Hireling and the Slave, Chicora, and other Poems* (Charleston, 1856), 23.

²⁷ Stearns, *Notes on Uncle Tom's Cabin*, 263, 279, 300; Fitzhugh, *Cannibals All!*, 266; G. C. Grammer, "The Failure of a Free Society," in *De Bow's Review*, XIX (1855), 38; "Slavery—The World's Fair," *ibid.*, XII (1852), 211; "A Southern Lady," "British Philanthropy and American Slavery," *ibid.*, XIV (1853), 260; C[olston], "The Problem of Free Society," in *loc cit.*, XXVI, 410; Ruffin, *Political Economy of Slavery*, 7; Sawyer, *Southern Institutes*, 275-80; Simms, "The Morals of Slavery," in *Pro-Slavery Argument*, 211; Harper, "Memoir on Slavery," *ibid.*, 41. The exposé dealt with the conditions of the English peasantry, the Irish, Hindoos, and other colonial subjects of Great Britain, and with conditions in the army and navy as well.

²⁸ Fitzhugh, *Cannibals All!*, 345; "Observations on a Passage in the Politics of Aristotle relative to Slavery," in *Southern Literary Messenger*, XVI (1850), 199.

ever the same. For, "In all social systems there must be a class to do the mean duties, to perform the drudgery of life."²⁹ This mudsill class was compelled to discharge the unpleasant and degrading toil of this world, so that society might maintain itself and advance further. Slavery, in one form or another, was the price of civilization.

To the southern proslavery apologists, arguing from Malthusian-Ricardian premises, this economic axiom was already being demonstrated by the condition of free workers everywhere. For a time, indeed, it was admitted, the North and other so-called free countries may actually have had reason for their free-labor delusion. The atypical condition in the North—its increase of natural resources at a faster rate than its population—temporarily postponed the process of enslavement of its labor force. They had even led, at one time, to an anomalous competition among masters to secure servants instead of the conventional scramble among servants to secure places. But the process had already been reversed. An ever denser population crowded on ever diminishing means of subsistence. Increasing numbers of workers struggled fiercely for lessening opportunities of employment. Capital, deriving its profits in proportion to the suffering of its laborers, depressed wages "to the lowest rate at which a bare subsistence can be purchased."³⁰ Relations of superiority and inferiority were already well established. The giver of employment, bestowing a favor, commanded the servile obedience of his dependent. The increasing want of workers, accompanied by squalor and vice, evoked the contempt of the men who were reducing them to that state. And thus the free-labor system had become metamorphosized into the system of wage slavery.³¹

The hired laborer of the North was, therefore, a slave just as much

²⁹ Speech of Hammond before the Senate, *Cong. Globe*, 35 Cong., 1 Sess., 962 (March 4, 1858); C[olston], "The Problem of Free Society," in *loc. cit.*, XXVI, 417; Fitzhugh, *Cannibals All!*, 323 ff.; "American Slavery in 1857," in *Southern Literary Messenger*, XXV (1857), 85; "Slavery in the Southern States," *ibid.*, IX (1843), 744.

³⁰ Ruffin, *Political Economy of Slavery*, 6. Ruffin further said, "The competition of free laborers, and their greatest sufferings, produce the greatest profits of capital." See also, C[olston], "The Problem of Free Society," in *loc. cit.*, XXVI, 418; Fitzhugh, *Cannibals All!*, 304 ff.

³¹ Harper, "Memoir on Slavery," in *Pro-Slavery Arguments*, 52; "L. C. B.," "The Country in 1950, or the Conservatism of Slavery," in *loc. cit.*, 437 ff.

as the chattel slave of the South. "For the man who lives by daily labor," stated Senator James H. Hammond to his northern colleagues, "and scarcely lives at that, and who has to put out his labor in the market and take the best he can get for it; in short, your whole class of manual laborers and operatives, as you call them, are slaves."⁸² Every northern employer bought human labor. Every northern worker "who contracts to serve for a term of days, months, or years, is, for such term, the property of his employer."⁸³ The will of the free worker was subjected to his employer's as much as that of the slave to his master's, and "where a man is compelled to labor at the will of another, and to give him much the greater portion of the product of his labor, there *Slavery* exists." Methods differed, of course, but "it is immaterial by what sort of compulsion the will of the laborer is subdued."⁸⁴ Starvation was indeed a harsher method of compulsion to labor than physical force. "For sharp want, hunger, and cold, are far more effective incentives to labor than the slaveowner's whip, even if its use is not restrained by any feeling of justice or mercy."⁸⁵

Not content with the identification of the wage system and of chattel slavery as equally systems of slave labor, southern spokesmen went on to demonstrate "that the unrestricted exploitation of so-called free society, is more oppressive to the laborer than domestic slavery."⁸⁶ The chattel slave served an individual master; the wage slave was subjected to "class-slavery, or the absolute subjection of the whole class of

⁸² Speech of Hammond before the Senate, *Cong. Globe*, 35 Cong., 1 Sess., 962 (March 4, 1858).

⁸³ Fitzhugh, *Cannibals All!*, 342.

⁸⁴ Harper, "Memoir on Slavery," in *Pro-Slavery Argument*, 52.

⁸⁵ Ruffin, *Political Economy of Slavery*, 6; George Fitzhugh, "Mr. Bancroft's History and the 'Inner Light,'" in *De Bow's Review*, XXIX (1860), 609 ff.; James D. B. De Bow, *Industrial Resources, etc., of the Southern and Western States*, 3 vols. (New Orleans, 1852-1853), II, 223; Harper, "Memoir on Slavery," in *Pro-Slavery Argument*, 53. Brookes, *Defence of the South*, 12, even drew a parallel between the "intelligence offices in New York or Boston" and southern slave marts. For definitions of chattel slavery as a system of labor organization analogous to the contract system of free labor, see Fletcher, *Studies on Slavery*, 52; William A. Smith, *Lectures on the Philosophy and Practice of Slavery* (Nashville, 1856), 40.

⁸⁶ Fitzhugh, *Cannibals All!*, ix.

laborers to the whole class of employers."⁸⁷ Domestic slavery was a natural institution; slavery to capital, an artificial contrivance.

The primitive and patriarchal, which may also be called the sacred and natural system, in which the laborer is under the personal control of a fellow-being endowed with the sentiments and sympathies of humanity, exists among us. It has been almost everywhere else superseded by the modern *artificial money power system*, in which man—his thews and sinews, his hopes and affections, his very being, are all subjected to the dominion of *capital*—a monster without a heart—cold, stern, arithmetical—sticking to the bond—taking ever the "pound of flesh,"—working up human life with engines, and retailing it out by weight and measure.⁸⁸

Far more harsh and cruel was this slavery to capital than slavery to human masters. The southern slave was employed in "regular, healthful, and not excessive labor"; the wage slave performed, without rest or respite, "toils a thousand times more heavy than any task which is put upon the shoulders of the Southern slave."⁸⁹ While the wage slave received starvation wages, the chattel slave was always provided with a decent livelihood. Substantial and wholesome food he had in abundance; clothing sufficient for his every need; and a comfortable cabin, with all the cottager's comforts, housed and sheltered him. "Though we do not give 'wages,' *in money*, we do this for *our slaves*, and they are therefore better rewarded than *yours*."⁹⁰

Furthermore, the chattel slave was always protected by his master from every want and calamity. Idleness meant not starvation to him; the terror of unemployment haunted him not. While thousands of workless operatives died from starvation and exposure, the slave lost not "a meal, or a comfort." In sickness as in health, in infancy and in disability, he was provided for. Temptation passed him by, for sharp want was not there to goad him into desperation; no "Black Nancy" of the South was ever forced into prostitution to earn her miserable bread. In old age, while the northern worker was driven

⁸⁷ Ruffin, *Political Economy of Slavery*, 6.

⁸⁸ Hammond, "Letters on Slavery," in *Pro-Slavery Argument*, 162 ff. Cf. Sawyer, *Southern Institutes*, 374; J. H. Van Evrie, *Negroes and Negro Slavery* (Baltimore, 1853), 21 ff.

⁸⁹ Simms, "The Morals of Slavery," in *Pro-Slavery Argument*, 220; Harper, "Memoir on Slavery," *ibid.*, 49; Toombs, "Slavery," in *loc. cit.*, 397 ff.

⁹⁰ Hammond, "Letters on Slavery," in *Pro-Slavery Argument*, 162.

to the hard charity of the workhouse, the southern slave ended his days, as he had lived in his prime, in security and contentment, amidst familiar faces and beloved scenes on the old plantation.⁴¹

The very argument used in favor of free labor, that it was more efficient, or cheaper, was converted into an offensive weapon by pro-slavery propagandists. The profits from labor were the difference between the value added to the product by the worker and the residue left to him by his employer. The slaveholder's profits were naturally less than the capitalist's, "because the master allows the slave to retain a larger share of the results of his own labor, than do the employers of free labor."⁴² It was far cheaper, of course, to turn the hired laborer out when his services were unnecessary than to support a slave through all seasons of the year and through all the periods of his life. "We must, therefore, content ourselves with our dear labor, under the consoling reflection that what is lost to us, is gained to humanity; and that, inasmuch as our slave costs us more than your free man costs you, by so much is he better off."⁴³

Behind all these arguments was the southern axiom that the wage system was inherently vicious in that it established between the capitalist and the laborer a relationship of deadly antagonism. Slavery was a system of protection for the weak by the strong; wage slavery, a system of exploitation. Apart from the natural humanity of the southern master, the mellowing influences of the personal relationships on the plantation, and the justice of the protector toward his dependents, "the law of self-interest secures kind and humane treatment to Southern slaves."⁴⁴ But, for northern wage workers, the very reverse was true. The interest of their employers was to secure the greatest possible competition of labor. To render their workers the more dependent, it

⁴¹ Harper, "Memoir on Slavery," in *Pro-Slavery Argument*, 27, 42 ff., 49, 50; Hammond, "Letters on Slavery," *ibid.*, 121; Brookes, *Defence of the South*, 17 ff.; Ruffin, *Political Economy of Slavery*, 8 ff.; Fitzhugh, *Cannibals All!*, 163; William J. Grayson, "Mackay's Travels in America. The Dual Form of Labor," in *De Bow's Review*, XXVIII (1860), 50; speech of Jefferson Davis before the Senate, *Cong. Globe*, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., Appendix, 156 (February 14, 1850).

⁴² Fitzhugh, *Cannibals All!*, 25, 268 ff.

⁴³ Hammond, "Letters on Slavery," in *Pro-Slavery Argument*, 122.

⁴⁴ Fitzhugh, *Cannibals All!*, 119; "A Lady of Georgia," "Southern Slavery and Its Assailants," in *De Bow's Review*, XVI (1854), 56; Fletcher, *Studies on Slavery*, 219.

was to their interest to degrade them to the lowest depths and to cut wages to the bone. "[You] never fail, as a moral duty, to screw down wages to the lowest, and to starve their families, if possible, as evidence of your thrift, economy and management—the only English and Yankee virtues." While increasing prosperity to the master added to the comfort and the happiness of the slave, increased profits to the capitalist came at the cost of greater misery to his workers. So far had this process already gone that northern capitalists already lived "in ten times the luxury and show that Southern masters do."⁴⁵ And, the more the workers were debased, the more were they despised and feared, and the more smothered in suppression, lest they rise against their exploiters.

The difference of race and color between the southern chattel slaves and northern wage slaves heightened still further the contrast in their conditions. The free Negro of the North, a pariah wherever he wandered, excluded from even the most abolitionist states, hunted by mobs in the principal cities, and filling the penitentiaries and the poorhouses of the North, constituted in himself the living condemnation of wage slavery in relation to black folk.⁴⁶ The fact that wage slavery applied predominately, however, not to Negroes, but to whites, made it all the more horrible to southern eyes. In the South the mudsills were Negro in race, black in color, African in descent, an inferior race especially created by God for slavery and adapted by nature for the purpose. But, in the North "Your slaves are white, of your own race; you are brothers of one blood. They are your equals in natural endowment of intellect, and they feel galled by their degradation."⁴⁷ For the Negro,

⁴⁵ Fitzhugh, *Cannibals All!*, 29, 321; Ruffin, *Political Economy of Slavery*, 6; Sawyer, *Southern Institutes*, 375.

⁴⁶ Typical expressions of this attitude may be found in Thomas R. Dew, *An Essay on Slavery* (Richmond, 1849), 77; "Mr. Calhoun's Letter to Mr. King," in *De Bow's Review*, IX (1850), 190; Jesse Chickering, "The White, Free-Colored, and Slave Population of the United States," *ibid.*, XV (1853), 136, 141; Toombs, "Slavery," in *loc. cit.*, 596 ff.; E. N. Elliott (ed.), *Cotton is King, and Pro-Slavery Arguments* (Augusta, 1860), 132-203; speech of Davis before the Senate, *Cong. Globe*, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., Appendix, 156 (February 14, 1850).

⁴⁷ Speech of Hammond before the Senate, *Cong. Globe*, 35 Cong., 1 Sess., 962 (March 4, 1858). Cf. C[olston], "The Problem of Free Society," in *loc. cit.*, XXVI, 417; speech of Alexander H. Stephens before the House, *Cong. Globe*, 34 Cong., 1 Sess., Appendix, 728 (June 28, 1856); Grayson, "The Dual Form of Labor," in *loc. cit.*, 49.

slavery was beneficial; he was raised by it, made superior, given the rudiments of civilization. For the white man, however, wage slavery meant only degeneration and retrogression. In the South white men were a superior class; "We have none of our brethren sunk to the degradation of being menials."⁴⁸

Wage slavery was thus, as contrasted with chattel slavery, also white slavery. The northern free white workers toiled harder, were paid less, and had none of the comforts and security that Negroes enjoyed under chattel slavery.

. . . the vulgar, ignorant, parvenu millionaire of the North possesses a power that no master ever possessed; because this parvenu, this boss, this employer, can say to the workingman, "I am not your master, I am not bound to support your family, 'tis nothing to me that you are sick or infirm, that you have many children or few . . . and if your family starve, 'tis no business of mine. My horses and cows I feed, whether working or not, because they are my property, and their death would be my loss; but the market is overcrowded with free laborers, the poor rates oppressive, and the sooner we starve and kill out white laborers the better; the market is glutted with them, each ship from Europe brings a new supply. . . ."⁴⁹

Thus the white slaves were, in fine, but masterless slaves, the "bathos of human misery." They had not a single right, "unless it be the right or liberty to die." Their bosses were "masters without the obligations of masters." They themselves were "slaves without the rights of slaves." The wage system was not only slavery; it was far worse than slavery; "It is a gross libel on slavery."⁵⁰

As a part of the proslavery rationale this counterattack on the wage system was, of course, intended primarily for home consumption. Hav-

⁴⁸ Speech of Davis before the Senate (March 2, 1859), in Dunbar Rowland (ed.), *Jefferson Davis: Constitutionalist*, 10 vols. (Jackson, Miss., 1923), IV, 49. Cf. Sawyer, *Southern Institutions*, 374; speech of Hammond before the Senate, *Cong. Globe*, 35 Cong., 1 Sess., 962 (March 4, 1858); "What Is Slavery," in *Democratic Review* (New York, 1837-1859), XXXIV (1854), 344.

⁴⁹ Fitzhugh, "Mr. Bancroft's History and the 'Inner Light,'" in *loc. cit.*, 613.

⁵⁰ Fitzhugh, *Cannibals All!*, 31, 48, 251, 332. Cf. Harper, "Memoir on Slavery," in *Pro-Slavery Argument*, 53, 56. It should be noted that the Southerner thought of the Negro as primarily a worker and was thus able to contrast his condition with that of the northern worker without regard to status of ownership or hire; inasmuch as the condition of the worker seemed superior when he was owned by a master, some, but by no means all, of the proslavery defenders made out a case in favor of enslaving all workers for their own benefit.

ing demonstrated that hired laborers were worse off than Negro slaves, the proslavery spokesmen were able to denounce the moral integrity of the antislavery men, who so hypocritically pointed the finger of scorn at chattel slavery while completely ignoring the wretchedness of their own wage slaves at home.

When you look around you, how dare you talk to us before the world of Slavery? . . . If you are really humane, philanthropic, and charitable, here are objects for you. Relieve them. Emancipate them. Raise them from the condition of brutes to the level of human beings—of American slaves, at least.⁵¹

In a larger sense this attack formed one of the important bases for the more general proslavery positions that so-called free society was a miserable failure and that an enduring civilization could be erected and maintained only upon the southern chattel slavery system.⁵²

In relation to the national scene this counterattack was of some service in challenging the effectiveness of the coalition of classes and sections which found its political expressions in New-Line Whiggery and more especially in Republicanism. Northern workers were told that the slaveholders were their friends and allies. They supported the homestead plan. Their votes defeated the pet projects of northeastern industrialism, their tariffs, their "National Banks and other contrivances for defrauding labor."⁵³ Far more important, however, than these tentative efforts toward an American brand of Tory Democracy, were the slaveholder's appeals to the northern capitalist, to whom he alternately

⁵¹ Hammond, "Letters on Slavery," in *Pro-Slavery Argument*, 139.

⁵² For typical expressions, see George Fitzhugh, "The Counter Current, or Slavery Principle," in *De Bow's Review*, XXI (1856), 92 ff.; George F. Holmes, "Bledsoe on Liberty and Slavery," *ibid.*, 132; "Modern Philanthropy and Negro Slavery," *ibid.*, XVI (1854), 274; J. Quitman Moore, "Quo Tendimus," *ibid.*, XXIX (1860), 443; "American Slavery in 1857," in *loc. cit.*, 85; "L. C. B.," "The Country in 1950, or the Conservatism of Slavery," in *loc. cit.*, 430; Ruffin, *Political Economy of Slavery*, 10; Fitzhugh, *Cannibals All!*, *passim*; William S. Jenkins, *Pro-Slavery Thought in the Old South* (Chapel Hill, 1935), 303-308. Two features stressed in this argument during the 1850's were: (1) quoting northern radicals and abolitionists to the effect that northern free society was intolerable and required "total subversion and reconstruction"; and (2) recommending chattel slavery to northern reformers as the effective substitute for all their schemes of social reorganization.

⁵³ Van Evrie, *Negroes and Negro Slavery*, 31 ff. Cf. speech of Hammond before the Senate, *Cong. Globe*, 35 Cong., 1 Sess., 962 (March 4, 1858).

addressed grave warnings, threats of reprisal, and offers of a helping hand against the dangers which threatened him in his own section.

The northern capitalist, the slaveholder warned, was playing with fire by collaborating with the opponents of southern slavery. Abolitionists were in essence attackers of all property. True, they concentrated their attack for the present upon slave property. Let not the capitalist who financed and supported them, however, be deceived. They were socialists, communists, anarchists, utopian dreamers; they were addicted to all forms of social vices and fantastic extravagances; they were the enemies equally of the northern social order as of the southern one. They cared little about faraway Negroes and less about their masters. Abolitionism was merely the opening gun in their crusade, their means to other and ulterior ends. Their true purpose was to utilize the antislavery movement as a means of agitating men and committing them to their entire program—the abolition of all private property, as well as of all government, religion, law, marriage, and all the institutions of civilization. It was communism and anarchism they were after; “they have only blacked its face to disguise it.”⁵⁴

Other proslavery spokesmen pictured the capitalists, not as the dupes, but as the sponsors and promoters of abolitionism, in the hope of diverting the attack of the northern masses from themselves upon the South. These warned the northern capitalists against any premature self-congratulation.

For the time perhaps they have succeeded in hounding on the rabble in full cry after the South, and in diverting attention from themselves. But how will they fare in the end? . . . when the mob shall have tasted the sweets of plunder and rapine in their raids upon the South, will they spare the hoarded millions of the money-princes and nabobs of the North? Are there not thousands of needy and thriftless adventurers, or of starving and vicious poor, in the free States and cities of the North, who look with ill-concealed envy, or with gloating rapacity, on the prosperity and wealth of the aristocrats, as they term them, of the spindle and loom, and of the counting-house? Ye capitalists, ye mer-

⁵⁴ Langdon Cheves, *Speech of Hon. Langdon Cheves in the Southern Convention at Nashville, Tennessee, November 14, 1850* (n. p., 1851), 26; Fitzhugh, *Cannibals All!*, 129, 328, 368; William H. Trescott, “The States’ Duties in Regard to Popular Education,” in *De Bow’s Review*, XX (1856), 143.

chant princes, ye master manufacturers, you may excite to frenzy your Jacobin clubs, you may demoralize their minds of all ideas of right and wrong, but remember! the gu[i]llotine is suspended over your own necks!! The agrarian doctrines will ere long be applied to yourselves, for with whatsoever measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again.⁵⁵

Whatever the reason for the participation of northern capitalists in the antislavery movement, it ill behooved them, from any long-range view of their own interests, to continue co-operating with it. For the moment, indeed, the Republican party might seem to urban industrialism a convenient instrument for successful struggle for the stakes of politics; but, inevitably, and not in the too distant future, capitalism would be forced to pay the penalty for riding the whirlwind. "Socialism, not Abolition, is the real object of Black Republicanism. The North, not the South, the true battle-ground." Its slavery plank was "a mere gull-trap."⁵⁶ The end for which William H. Seward looked was that the masses of the North, having whetted their appetite by plundering the South, would turn against their northern masters. The Wide-Awake clubs would then become Jacobin organizations. The true program of the party would emerge from hiding. Its politicians would legislate "that property is a crime."⁵⁷ And, too late, northern capitalism would rue its heedless course of the past.

Some of the southern spokesmen reinforced this warning with threats of immediate retaliation. Unless the North desisted from attacks upon the labor system of the South, slaveholders might be forced in self-defense to launch a veritable flood of propaganda teaching the workers of the northern states that they were the victims of white wage slavery, that their conditions of work were utterly degrading, and that they had the remedy for overthrowing their masters in their hands by the mere exercise of their right of suffrage. "You have been making

⁵⁵ Elliott (ed.), *Cotton is King*, 897-98. Cf. speech of Davis before the Senate (January 26, 1860), in Rowland (ed.), *Jefferson Davis*, IV, 183: ". . . the doctrines you are preaching against us may come back, sooner or later, to plague you; that they will initiate in your midst a revolution destructive to all the rights of property, and to the safety of society."

⁵⁶ Fitzhugh, *Cannibals All!*, 368 ff.

⁵⁷ William O. Prentiss, *A Sermon Preached at St. Peter's Church* (Charleston, 1860), 16.

war upon us to our very hearthstones. How would you like for us to send lecturers and agitators North, to teach these people this, to aid them in combining, and to lead them?"⁵⁸

More often, the warning to northern capitalism concluded with an appeal for a united front of the propertied of both North and South against radicalism directed against both. After all, both capitalist and slaveholder were exploiters of labor. Both were "cannibals." Both had the same enemies. Co-operation would mean mutual benefits. To the southern master it would mean the disruption of the antislavery coalition; to the northern employer, southern aid to "arrest and turn back the tide of Radicalism and Agrarianism."⁵⁹ "The *conservatism of slavery*" could save the northern capitalist "from the thousand destructive *isms* infecting the social organization of your section."⁶⁰ The master class, North and South, had to join in alliance, offensive and defensive, to keep the mudsills of each section in their proper places.

⁵⁸ Speech of Hammond before the Senate, *Cong. Globe*, 35 Cong., 1 Sess., 962 (March 4, 1858); speech of Clemens before the Senate, *ibid.*, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., Appendix, 52 (January 10, 1850).

⁵⁹ Fitzhugh, *Cannibals All!*, 356-57.

⁶⁰ Speech of E. Carrington Cable before the House, *Cong. Globe*, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., Appendix, 1, 242 (March 5, 1850). Italics in original.

Notes and Documents

LETTERS OF A YANKEE SUGAR PLANTER

EDITED BY C. L. MARQUETTE

The vicissitudes of a Yankee sugar planter during the years 1866-1889 are interestingly revealed in the letters of Daniel Thompson to Cyrus Woodman. These letters throw light on many questions which troubled the South in these years. The Negro labor situation and the attempts to solve it by importation of European workers, the vexatious levee problem, the attack on both the Carpetbag and restored governments, the anxiety caused by the agitation for free trade and tariff reform in this period, the unproductive methods of the southern sugar planter, and the influence later of the introduction of scientific methods in production and manufacture of sugar find casual or extensive mention in his correspondence. On subjects of political intrigues and social ostracism, prevalent in Louisiana at that time, Thompson is strangely silent. Only occasionally does he burst forth in criticism of one or another government. A possible explanation is that he lived for some years at his plantation only during the sugar-making season. After 1879 he took up permanent residence in Saint Mary's Parish. As a resident of the state he directed his antagonism toward the Federal government, which, in his opinion, was shirking its duty toward the Louisiana sugar planter.

Perhaps Thompson's New England background and education, his varied experiences, and his successful business enterprises in the West aided him in facing the problems of a Louisiana sugar planter. He was born at Sacarappa, Maine, June 1, 1821. At the age of three years he was left an orphan and his stern uncle, Ephriam Flint, reared and

educated him. In 1839 he graduated from Norwich University, Northfield, Vermont, where he had prepared himself to be a civil engineer. His father had been a sailor, and for a little more than a year Thompson went to sea. Then, he migrated to the West where he settled in the frontier town of Mineral Point, Wisconsin. His training in civil engineering, drafting, and surveying aided him in securing a position in the office of (Cadwallader C.) Washburn and Woodman, successful land agents. Apparently this position held no future for him as he soon gave it up and moved to Pekin, Illinois. Here, he and his cousin, Richard Flint, carried on a grain and provision business which they sold, in November, 1849, to another cousin, Thompson Flint. In 1850 Thompson invested the proceeds of the sale of the business with Washburn and Woodman and became manager of the company's shot tower at Helena, on the Wisconsin River.

After a year at the shot tower, which supplied the Great Lakes and upper Mississippi River markets, Thompson returned to Pekin where he purchased and successfully operated, until the middle of 1853, the store and warehouse of Richard Flint. He was bookkeeper for a Pekin bank until March, 1854. In the same month Thompson moved to Chicago where he entered the concern of Flint, Wheeler and Company, dealers in grains and provisions, which became Flint, Thompson and Company in 1864. The rapid settling of the West and the Civil War made the elevator and storage business a profitable one. So substantial were the profits Thompson turned his share from Greenbacks to real estate, investing in northwest timberlands, Pennsylvania oil property, Chicago street railways, and a Louisiana sugar plantation. From 1854 to 1882 he was a member of the Chicago Board of Trade, and from 1869 to 1871 a director in the Union and First National banks of Chicago. Gradually, however, he reduced his holdings, and by 1889 he had little else save his modern plantation.

In Louisiana Thompson assumed the role of a successful business man. While residing there he became a member of the New Orleans Board of Trade, New Orleans Sugar Exchange, and other similar commercial organizations of the South. At the Calumet plantation he de-

voted himself to the scientific planting and manufacture of sugar. Some of the fruits of these experiments were published in bulletins of the United States Department of Agriculture and in scientific journals. He was not interested in a political career. When, however, Congress furnished no aid to the stricken planter he complained bitterly to Woodman of the inefficiency of the government. In 1882 a disastrous flood swept over Saint Mary's Parish inundating the Calumet plantation but, while other planters sought bankruptcy, Thompson, with the vision of a northwest Yankee, laid plans for rebuilding. His frequent trips to the North, his continued contributions to worthy charities, and his expansive program give testimony of the profits in sugar making and his success in making the Calumet one of the finest plantations in the South.

Thompson suffered a stroke of apoplexy March 11, 1896, and died on May 8, 1900. He was buried in Graceland Cemetery at Chicago.¹

Chicago, Illinois, April 11, 1866²

Dear Cyrus³ . . . We have killed no hogs this season and as I had but little to do, went south to see how things in general looked there and have a little

¹ The facts for this biographical sketch were taken from the Woodman and the Washburn Papers (Division of Manuscripts, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison); Orin G. Libby, "Chronicle of the Helena Shot Tower," in Wisconsin Historical Society, *Collections* (Madison, 1854-), XIII (1895), 335-75; Henry C. Morris, *The History of the First National Bank of Chicago* (Chicago, 1902).

² To reduce these letters to publication length without further deleting them, a few editorial liberties have been taken. The place and date at the head of each letter have been run on the same line. The salutation has been indented and inserted on the beginning line of the printed portion of each letter. Eight periods spaced across the page have been used to show the deletion of a paragraph or more, except at the beginning and the end of letters where three periods have been made to serve that purpose, here again to conserve space. As all of the letters except two were written by Daniel Thompson, his name has been omitted at the end of those he wrote; the two written by his son, Wilbray Thompson, retain his name for identification.

³ Cyrus Woodman (1814-1889) was born and educated in Maine, and studied law at Harvard. After his admittance to the bar he went to northern Illinois with William S. Russell as assistant land agent of the Boston and Western Land Company. In 1840, when Russell became ill, Woodman succeeded him as agent. In 1844 he and Cadwallader C. Washburn of Maine formed the firm of Washburn and Woodman which lasted until 1855 when it was dissolved by mutual consent, Woodman taking cash and some lands while Washburn took most of the firm's timber interests in northwestern Wisconsin. In 1863 Woodman moved from Mineral Point, Wisconsin, to Cambridge, Massachusetts, where he turned his attention to business interests and the education of his chil-

sport. Our party went up the Arkansas to Little Rock, over to the White River, and down to New Orleans. There is generally much better feeling at the South than I expected to find, or than they have credit for. *All* who fought are satisfied: say we *licked* them *good*, and now they are ready to go to work again and be good citizens.⁴ My friends bought a large sugar plantation on Bayou "Teche" $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles above Franklin—Eight hours from N. O. and but five in a short time when the Rail is completed. It will make a sort of Southern Home for me whenever I see fit to go there. . . .

Chicago, Illinois, December 16, 1872

Dear Cyrus . . . My sugar crop was as good as I expected. About 200 Hhds. sugar and 300 Bbls. molasses.⁵ . . .

Pattersonville, La., Parish of St. Mary, March 2, 1873

Dear Cyrus . . . The farm here affords but little of interest to write to those not directly interested, but to show you our season here I will say that my cane was all planted nearly a week since, and some of it is already up very nicely. We have been planting corn the last three days; have about 40 acres planted.⁶ We are having plenty of vegetables from our own garden. Peas

dren. Woodman kept up correspondence with many of his friends in the West and made frequent trips to see them. His letters, over two hundred volumes which deal mostly with the West and western speculation, are in the archives of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. The following letters are taken from that collection and the editor respectfully extends his thanks to the Society for the permission to publish them. See George F. Emery, "Cyrus Woodman," in *Biographical Collections and Proceedings of the Maine Historical Society*, 2nd Ser. (Portland, 1890), I, 113-25; Ellis B. Usher, "Cyrus Woodman: A Character Sketch," in *Wisconsin Magazine of History* (Madison and Menasha, 1917-), II (1919), 393-413.

⁴ See Charles W. Ramsdell, "The Changing Interpretation of the Civil War," in *Journal of Southern History* (Baton Rouge, 1935-), III (1937), 3-28.

⁵ Thompson's sugar fortunes followed those of the state. The following statistics, quoted in long tons, cover the years included in the letters of Thompson to Woodman:

| | | | | | |
|---------|--------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| 1866-67 | 19,152 | 1874-75 | 60,047 | 1882-83 | 135,297 |
| 1867-68 | 18,482 | 1875-76 | 72,954 | 1883-84 | 128,443 |
| 1868-69 | 42,434 | 1876-77 | 85,122 | 1884-85 | 94,376 |
| 1869-70 | 44,399 | 1877-78 | 65,671 | 1885-86 | 127,958 |
| 1870-71 | 75,392 | 1878-79 | 106,910 | 1886-87 | 80,859 |
| 1871-72 | 65,583 | 1879-80 | 88,822 | 1887-88 | 157,971 |
| 1872-73 | 55,958 | 1880-81 | 121,867 | 1888-89 | 144,878 |
| 1873-74 | 46,090 | 1881-82 | 71,373 | 1889-90 | 128,344 |

"The Sugar Industry," in Department of Commerce, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Miscellaneous Series, *Report No. 9* (Washington, 1913), 61; *The Annual Cyclopaedia, 1880*, XX (New York, 1883), 482, gives the statistics to 1880, and includes in them the price per hoghead.

⁶ A clear and detailed picture of the work on a sugar plantation is given by Walter Prichard, "Routine on a Louisiana Sugar Plantation Under the Slavery Regime," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (Cedar Rapids, 1914-), XIV (1928), 168-78;

are in bloom, and garden corn to eat is up and growing well—The winter here has been the most severe for many years, or we should have peas and new potatoes in a few weeks—I made 193 Hhds. of sugar this season, which will sell for about \$22,000 with the Molasses. This is doing very well for the first year.⁷ This season I have planted 150 acres of cane and shall grind in addition about 125 acres of last years planting, and should the season be good shall probably make 400 Hhds. sugar and 600 Bbls. molasses. This should sell for \$50,000 and is as large a crop as I shall attempt to raise unless matters change for the better down here. I met C. C. Washburn on my trip to N. Y. in January and was more than ever pleased with him. He knew all about our troubles here, and agreed with me exactly about the men running Louisiana. He is a man I think the world of, but he is d—d bad company.⁸ I also met E. B. W.⁹ several times while he was in Chicago; I was very much pleased with him, as are all (regardless of party) with his course in France. I would rather be him than Grant. I think he now stands a good show for

J. Carlyle Sitterson, "Magnolia Plantation, 1852-62: A Decade of a Louisiana Sugar Estate," *ibid.*, XXV (1939), 197-211. An account of the Civil War and its relation to the sugar industry is ably shown in another monograph by Professor Prichard, "The Effects of the Civil War on the Louisiana Sugar Industry," in *Journal of Southern History*, V (1939), 315-32. In the following letters Thompson attacks the system, which remained materially the same as in slave days.

⁷ In none of his letters to Woodman did Thompson state definitely when he secured the Calumet plantation. This letter and the one dated December 16, 1872, indicate that he obtained it in 1870 or 1871. It is quite likely that in 1866 he became part owner of the Alice plantation of which he speaks later.

⁸ Cadwallader Colden Washburn (1818-1882) served in Congress from Wisconsin during the years 1854-1861 and 1866-1871. He also served as governor of the state, 1872-1874. During the Civil War, Washburn became a major general of volunteers from which position he resigned in 1865. He had served in the field but gained greater distinction as military governor of Vicksburg and later West Tennessee with headquarters at Memphis. It was from these positions and his congressional service that Washburn became acquainted with the problems of the South. Washburn built at Minneapolis, Minnesota, the mills which he ultimately leased to the Washburn, Crosby Company, makers of Gold Medal flour. Like his friends Woodman and Thompson, Washburn was a Maine man. Because he was a Republican and a brother of Elihu Washburne and Israel Washburn, Thompson regarded him as being in bad company. Both Thompson and Woodman considered themselves Democrats although the latter voted for Lincoln and successive Republican presidents until Cleveland's first term. See John D. Hicks, "Cadwallader Colden Washburn," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, 20 vols. and index (New York, 1928-1937), XIX, 495; David Atwood *et al.*, "In Memoriam, Cadwallader Colden Washburn," in Wisconsin Historical Society, *Collections*, IX (1882), 327-65.

⁹ Elihu Benjamin Washburne (1816-1887) was born in Maine and educated at Harvard Law School. In 1840 he went West and settled at Galena, Illinois, some forty miles from Mineral Point, Wisconsin, the center of the lead-mining district. There his brother Cadwallader C. Washburn established a law office in 1842, and formed the firm Washburn and Woodman in 1844. Elihu B. Washburne was a Whig and was elected

President next time. My present feeling is for E. B. W. Prest., C. C. W. Sec'y State, C. W.¹⁰ Sec'y Treas'y. I should have some feeling that our National Matters would be managed with *honesty* and *ability* if these men were elected to fill those important places.

You can hardly form an idea of the condition we are now in down here and altho' I am a law and order man I think it is about time to resort to extreme measures, being careful only to avoid a conflict with U. S. Troops. There is really great danger of blood shed, and if Congress does nothing for us I am ready to see extreme means resorted to.¹¹ The exposures of rascality on Congress the past session has made me feel about the same of mankind generally, that I did before our fire in Chicago.¹² I freely admit the great kindness we rec'd after the Great Calamity to our city, made a strong impression upon me in favor of the human race, and it pains me severely to see such exposure of men high in office, and who seem not to realize the great responsibility they bear, and their duties to the American people. . . .

Pattersonville, La., St. Mary's Parish, April 15, 1873

Dear Cyrus: . . . We have passed a very pleasant winter here, and I think Mary¹³ has enjoyed herself quite well; to be sure the early winter (before we arrived) was the severest since 1835 (so they say) and the cold killed some of our orange trees, and injured other things, but we now have a prospect of good crops, such as have not been raised since the war (from which time all things here now date)—I made last season 193 Hhds. sugar and 300 Bbls. Molasses which sold for about \$22,000 net. If we are favored with a good season from this time till Oct. next, my crop will probably sell for \$50,000, and give me quite a handsome profit. If we only had a government like the

to Congress in 1852 where he served with distinction. As a reward for Washburne's aid and loyalty to him during the Civil War Grant selected him as his first secretary of state, but he resigned immediately to go to Paris as minister. All during his public career Washburne carried on a correspondence with Woodman with whom he was associated in some business ventures. See L. Ethan Ellis, "Elihu Benjamin Washburne," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, XIX, 504.

¹⁰ Thompson was doing more than showing his loyalty for the Maine men as Elihu B. Washburne narrowly missed nomination on the Republican ticket in 1880 by Grant's desire for a third term (so Washburne believed); and Woodman was mentioned for assistant secretary of the treasury when the Grant cabinet was first organized. As early as 1861 Cadwallader C. Washburn was considered for a post in the Lincoln cabinet.

¹¹ The situation which Thompson refers to is that which undoubtedly led up to the Colfax massacre and the outrages in St. Mary's Parish. See Ella Lonn, *Reconstruction in Louisiana After 1868* (New York, 1918), 240-44; *Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1873, XIII (New York, 1879), 450.

¹² Thompson wrote Woodman, October 16, 1871, and asserted he lost about \$100,000 and an income of \$10,000 because of the Chicago fire. He added, however, that the entire world treated the stricken city with generosity.

¹³ Mary Woodman, Cyrus Woodman's daughter.

Northern States; such laws, such rates of taxation, and an honest expenditure of the money, we should certainly prosper. It really seems to me the muddle we are now in here, is the hardest and also the most delicate matter our general government has ever had to deal with. Marshal Laws [*sic*] and a Military Government would please all the white people here. Love to Charlotte.¹⁴

P. S. I put E. B. W. at the head of my list as the *available* man.

Chicago, Illinois, August 6, 1874

Dear Cyrus: Yours of the 3d inst. is rec'd and I return you enclosed the letter from E. B. W. I am ready to contribute \$100 for the repair of the tomb of Benj. Thompson¹⁵ at Paris. If necessary I will pay one half the expense, tho' he was a traitor to his country, when his eminent [*sic*] abilities were so much needed, and would have been of such great benefit. Please advise me of what is done, if anything, in the matter.

My loss in Louisiana by high water was very large, and I can but think unnecessary, had the Levee Co. done their duty; but how can you expect anything from a company organized for the sole purpose of stealing the peoples money.¹⁶ It was the fruit of the carpetbag rule, and whether we are ever to have a change is hard to tell—Have about made up my mind that I have sunk a reasonable fortune down there. The Negroes have the largest vote, and are now arrayed directly against the whites in politics. You can imagine the result if the Niggers win. . . .

Chicago, Illinois, August 31, 1874

Dear Cyrus Yours of Aug. 9th and of the 22nd inst. enclosing a note to Frank,¹⁷ were duly rec'd. I concur most heartily in what you say about governments. I think the government in all the states is getting worse every year. It is hard to conjecture where we shall bring up in a few years more, unless we can get some honest man at the head. Each election seems to give us more ignorant, and unprincipled officers, than the preceding one. I think E. B. Washburne now stands as fair a chance to be next President as any man and my hope is that he may be a candidate and be elected. If it is pos-

¹⁴ Charlotte Flint Woodman, Cyrus Woodman's wife and Thompson's cousin.

¹⁵ Better known as Count Rumford. See Tenney L. Davis, "Benjamin Thompson," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, XVIII, 449-52.

¹⁶ The Levee Company was formed in 1871 but had great difficulty in getting under way. The United States delayed in appointing its member to the Levee Commission until after the fall of the year. Thompson criticized the company, therefore, for inefficiency. Lonn, *Reconstruction in Louisiana After 1868*, p. 80; *Reports of the Levee Commission, 1871* (New Orleans, 1872), 3-16; *ibid.*, 1873 (New Orleans, 1874), 3-31; *ibid.*, 1874 (New Orleans, 1875), 3-30.

¹⁷ Frank Woodman, Cyrus Woodman's son, owned and operated a knitting mill at Charlestown, West Virginia.

sible for a politician to be an honest man, I think he would have none but honest men around him, provided he could find them. They are hard to find, in politics, or out—I am satisfied the reported outrages from the southern states, upon the Negroes are much exaggerated, and I think for political purposes. The bulk of the southern people feel very kindly to the Negroes, but there are plenty of desperadoes there, as well as at the North, ready for anything.¹⁸ I am very sorry for any wrong done the Negroes, because it will make the cause of the whites there harder to sustain. . . .

Chicago, Illinois, September 14, 1874

Dear Cyrus . . . We want some honest men in office if we wish to preserve the Republic. We must not be too particular about ability, tho' we really need all the ability possible. The thing is to get the best men that are *available*. Mr. W[ashburne] has made himself very popular during his absence—¹⁹ Things in Louisiana are looking very bad. The *Judges* will not obey the laws of the state. How can you expect others to—If Grant forces the Carpet Baggers on them again with the Military force of the U. S. there will surely be bloodshed and if you only knew as I know, how things are done in that country, you would not blame the people. A mouse will fight for his life, and this is what it will be there. If I had not a pen[n]y invested in the state my feelings and sympathy for the good people there (and there are many of them) would be the same as now. There is no ill feeling towards the Negro in our part of the state; we are dependent upon them, as they are upon us, and if trouble comes as I think it will, white men from the north must be responsible for it, and upon them and not the Negro espouses their cause.²⁰ . . .

Pattersonville, La., St. Mary's Parish, April 30, 1876

Dear Cyrus . . . I cannot see that I accomplish anything here on the plantation, still I am very busy all the time with something. I have 1000 orange trees growing, from one to three years old to look after. Then I am working at the drainage of my place, and preparing for high water. Unless the General

¹⁸ The Colfax massacre occurred April 13, 1873. Lonn, *Reconstruction in Louisiana After 1868*, pp. 240-44.

¹⁹ Minister to France during the Grant administration.

²⁰ Thompson appeared in sympathy with the White League of St. Mary's Parish. The White League emphasized, in an early August meeting, that "'Come what may, upon the Radical Party must rest the whole responsibility of this *conflict*, and as sure as there is a just God in heaven, their unnatural cold blooded and revengeful measures of reconstruction in Louisiana *will meet with a terrible retribution*.'" New Orleans *Republican*, August 13, 1874, quoted in H. Oscar Lestage, Jr., "The White League in Louisiana and its Participation in Reconstruction Riots," in *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* (New Orleans, 1917-), XVIII (1935), 617-95, see 648; Franklin (Louisiana) *Enterprise*, August 6, 1874.

Government takes charge of the Mississippi levees this country is worthless to most of its present owners. The State never can rebuild the levees now down, and of course we are liable to overflow whenever the river is high. Comparatively few of the planters are able to protect themselves, as it requires many thousands of dollars which they have not to use in that way. Before the war there was no trouble in this part of [the] state because the levees were kept up, if necessary by the planters themselves, on the river. Unfortunately I have two places²¹ but one is *above* high water, while this is not. I shall lose but little I think this year, but still we cannot afford to loose [*sic*] anything with the present price of sugar. Give my love to all the family. . . .

Chicago, Illinois, June 8, 1876

Dear Cyrus We arrived here from the plantation the 5th inst. Are all in our ordinary health. We expect the boys in a few days, who are now seeing the curiosities of the exposition at Philadelphia. Things at the South are generally more prosperous than at any time since the war. Sugar interests are looking up with a prospect of good crops again this season. Find business greatly depressed here [Chicago] and everybody blue. A war in Europe would help us here very much in the prices of produce and provisions.

I have instituted a series of experiments on my place in Louisiana to determine the effects and relative value of the different kinds of fertilizers on sugar cane. To make these experiments of any value I find I shall have to use the Polariscope to determine the amt. of saccharine matter we get from a given quantity of cane.²² I wish to get what information I can about this instrument, and its use. I know of no one except sugar refiners who use it, and suppose the information must come thro' them. What I want to know is as follows—What is the price and where can one be purchased in this country? What are the necessary qualifications of a person fit to use one? Can a person of ordinary intellect and education learn their use in a short time so as to be able to determine accurately the quantity of saccharine matter in cane juice, so that knowing the number of gallons of juice produced upon one acre of land the amount of sugar and molasses can be calculated. Is there anyone who will teach the use of the instrument for a consideration?

Thinking that you may possibly be acquainted with someone in Boston connected with sugar refineries I have written the above, and should like to

²¹ Obviously this refers to his half interest in the Alice plantation and to the Calumet plantation.

²² The use of the polariscope for testing the saccharine content of imported sugar was incorporated in the tariff act of 1883. *Tariff Acts Passed by the Congress of the United States from 1789 to 1909* (Washington, 1909), 330.

be put in a way to communicate with any one who can give me any information, if you can do it. Some of your scientific men could undoubtedly give me considerable knowledge of the tool. I am trying to carry out the plans I had in view when I employed the Austrian Chemist. He had the tools and had he remained I should now know more about their use, etc. . . .

Chicago, Illinois, July 23, 1877

Dear Cyrus . . . I shall leave for the plantation (Rail Road firemen permitting) one week from this day, July 30th to be gone about two weeks.²³ I hear my crop is good, but unfortunately it is small in consequence of my seed rotting in the mats last winter. My crop last year was 708 Hhds. sugar and 1168 Bbls. molasses and sold for over \$73,000. Profit about \$30,000. I shall have to be down there all of November and December, the sugar making season. . . .

Chicago, Illinois, October 30, 1878

C. C. Washburn Esqr.²⁴ [La Crosse, Wisconsin]

Dear Sir: . . . There has [*sic*] been about sixty cases of yellow fever (I hear) on my place in Louisiana. None have died, tho' twelve out of twenty-six died on an adjoining place. My hands are all well and at work again, but I lost two weeks work at a very important time. Fever is still bad both sides of me, and many are dying. I shall not go South till it is considered perfectly safe to do so by my friends there. . . .

Pattersonville, La., Parish of St. Mary, March 30, 1879

Dear Cyrus: . . . The business in Chicago is not what it used to be, and rather than have a quarrel in the family I retired. Will explain all to you when we meet again. My investment here has become so large that it needs much of my attention and I shall hereafter be here some eight months each year and will spend the other four away; I *hope* much of the time in Maine.

I feel the necessity of putting up some additional machinery this summer to make refined sugar, and if I do will be here much of the time. Wibray²⁵ wants to be a planter!

²³ The railroad labor strike, resulting from a 10 per cent reduction in wages, began on the Baltimore and Ohio and spread rapidly over almost all of the northern roads between the Mississippi and New England. The strikers took forcible possession of many of the roads which prevented full movement of the rolling stocks. To maintain peace and to rescue the roads both state and Federal troops were pressed into service. It was not until the end of July that trains moved on schedule. *Annual Cyclopedia*, 1877, XVII (New York, 1883), 423-32.

²⁴ Because of its personal and business nature, Washburn sent this letter on to Cyrus Woodman who filed it.

²⁵ Wibray, Thompson's son, attended Cornell College at Ithaca, New York, and for a time studied in Germany.

Pattersonville, Parish of St. Mary, La., May 4, 1879

Dear Cyrus: . . . I find I must give the business here more of my attention and must make a better quality of sugar or quit the business on account of the low prices we get. Parties making refined sugar on their plantations are doing well, while those making a grade for refiners are just about making the ends meet.

Our crops are now only fairly good. Would have been much better but for the dry weather which still continues. We have had only two inches of rain since Feby. 1st and should have had at least six inches for the good of the crop. Our crops last year were very fine, but the prices very low—about $5\frac{1}{2}\phi$ to $5\frac{3}{4}\phi$ for the quality I have made. . . .

Chicago, Illinois, July 29, 1879

Dear Cyrus . . . When I left La. my work was progressing quite well. The machinery will be shipped by steamer from N. York about August 1st and arrive about the 15th. . . . If the fever does not become epidemic I expect to return about September 1st to see to its erection. When I left there was some excitement but no fever in La. The chances I think are small for an epidemic this season. The alligators still wag their tails and bask in the sun regardless of fever reports. The crops are fair only, and not equal to last years. Plant cane generally good, but stubble or ratoons very backward and small. The crop of the state will be made in Vac[uum] pan that it will bring nearly as much money. . . .

Pattersonville, La., November 30, 1879

Dear Cyrus: Yours of the 4th was duly rec'd, but just at the time I was starting sugar making and putting my machinery in operation. Of course I was kept busy for some time getting things in working order. It is all working smoothly now and would be very satisfactory if I only had a good crop to work off. The crop is about the smallest I have raised here, but as I am working up from the syrup, three other crops, it keeps things moving nearly all the time. I think the additions I made the past season will prove a good thing if sugar planting in Louisiana is to be continued. I am certain no money can be made by the old process and the new one must save the planters if they are to be saved from utter ruin. I shall like to send you a sample of the sugar I am making if you will only tell to whom I can ship it in Boston. The storm of September 1st did me much damage to buildings blown down flat or unroofed. Some of them large and good ones and others Negro Cabins. Cost to repair about \$5000. The crop was certainly damaged 50% a loss of about \$20,000. My other place suffered less by damage to crop, but there the loss to buildings and crop was probably \$10,000. No such storm was ever known here before. The first blast came from the N. E. burning like heat from a

great fire the leaves on the trees, and those that were not blown off, fell off in two or three days leaving the trees bare as in the winter. At 12 M. the wind shifted to S. W. and blew harder than from N. E. but did not seem to burn vegetation but did more damage to the buildings. Dead fish in great numbers were scattered everywhere in streams and canals, nearly all the birds killed or driven away. I arrived here five days after the storm and never saw such destruction except by our great fire in Chicago.

The yellow fever has about left us, tho' I still hear of some cases and deaths. It has not been inclined to spread as it did last year but has been quite as fatal. People are not so much alarmed as last year and kept up local quarantines but a short time.

If Wibray learns as much as I hope he may it will be of advantage to us here.²⁶ I am learning considerable of the business myself staying in the Sugar house most of the time. . . .

Pattersonville, La., Jan. 18, 1880

Dear Cyrus: . . . It is my pleasure to give you a bbl. sugar, and I insist upon your receiving it. It was my intention to send it before you said anything about it. You may be sure it is pure cane sugar, no glucose or grape sugar or acids used in manufacturing. It will polarize $99\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ to $99\frac{3}{4}^{\circ}$ — 100° is chemically pure. If not too much trouble in using it please notice if the weather has any effect to soften it, and the dry weather to form it into hard cakes. The difference between this and regular refinery sugar is that we bleach the cane juice with fumes of sulphur passed thro' water, whereas the refineries whiten their syrups by passing thro' bone (bone charcoal). It is claimed (I think truly) that the sulphur causes the sugar to absorb moisture from the atmosphere and become soft in grain, which will I think sometime occur in the future and cause us to change our method of manufacture. I sent our friend Charley Stephenson²⁷ a bbl. also. I have made this year only 325,000 lbs. of sugar, which is more than I expected after the storm of Sept. 1st. I am now planting for the next crop and find the seed cane very good and am getting a long very well. Weather very fine for planting. Altogether my present prospects are rather flattering for next year, but there are so many contingencies in the business that we are never safe till the sugar is in the Hhd. The Alice Plantation of which I own half has done well again this year. It made (tho' a small place) over 500,000 lbs. sugar. The storm there was all from one direc-

²⁶ Wibray was working in Durant's refinery, New York.

²⁷ Charles Stephenson was appointed by Lincoln as steamboat inspector on the upper Mississippi and Missouri rivers. Stephenson migrated to Wisconsin, in the early territorial days but spent most of his life in Galena, Illinois. He was a brother-in-law of Cadwallader C. Washburn and Elihu B. Washburne, and distantly related to Woodman and Thompson.

tion and consequently did not break the cane off, only blowed it down. Do not think I can visit New England this next season. Will have to go to Chicago and may take a trip to Minnesota and Lake Superior.²⁸ Shall not be gone from here more than four to six weeks unless the yellow fever is much worse than we expected. We expect some of it however. . . .

Pattersonville, La., February 28, 1880

Dear Cyrus . . . Our weather is rather warm for the season, but still very pleasant. Our crops are well advanced, and the outlook still very fine, and it is most too late now to expect a severe frost to injure them. I now have 385 acres cane all doing well; about 40 acres corn and 20 acres peas planted. Am cultivating cane, planting corn etc.

I do wish you and Charlotte would come down soon, and stay with us as long as possible. You cannot be in our way. We have plenty of room (5 empty rooms and beds) and I will show you the finest farming country in America. . . .

Pattersonville, La., August 1, 1880

Dear Cyrus . . . I am hard at work repairing damage by the last Sept. storm to my sugar house, and making some changes for economy's sake and increasing the capacity for work. My present crop prospects on both places are very flattering, and if no *blasted* storm or other casualty interferes I shall have no reason to complain. Calumet prospects say at least 600,000 lbs. sugar and 600 bbls. molasses. Alice (half mine) about the same quantities. At last years prices this will bring a good pile of money. The only trouble with me is that I cannot stand still, must be moving ahead or trying to, consequently if I have the money, will for two years yet be making rather expensive improvements. The only draw back I fear is want of *reliable* labour. Old darkies good but dieing [*sic*] out. Young ones about good for nothing. Have sent to Portugal for 25 laborers and their families.²⁹ Politics still give us some trouble. The democrats (now in power) are worse than the Carpet Baggers. I am down on both parties, but will vote for Hancock if at all. I have no vote down here. . . .

²⁸ Thompson had timberland investments in the Lake Superior region.

²⁹ "The central factory system is growing in popularity with the sugar planters. In this system the planter leases his lands to the small farmers and buys their cane delivered at the mill for a stipulated price. Intelligent white farmers have succeeded admirably on this plan, and the planters are now introducing white tenants from the West and Europe. The largest population of negroes is confined to the alluvial districts. The older negroes are docile, tractible and good laborers, but the younger generation, which has grown up since the war is not so reliable." William H. Harris, State Commissioner of Agriculture and Immigration, *Louisiana Products, Resources and Attractions* (New Orleans, 1881), 11-12.

Pattersonville, La., November 21, 1880

Dear Cyrus . . . Our crops in St. Mary's Parish are all we could ask for, but the weather and roads are so very bad it is very questionable whether we save the whole of them. If I could save my whole crop at an average expense I should make plenty of money, but bad weather and bad roads increase the expense immensely.

How do you like Election results [?]⁸⁰ I don't think very much of Garfield and less of Arthur, but I prefer them to the Democracy of the day—especially the Democratic *Politicians* of the South. I am quite sure the Carpet Baggers are preferable to the Dem. Partizans here. The whole country is prosperous and a change might cause fear with capitalists which would be for a time detrimental to business. . . .

Pattersonville, La., January 9, 1881

Dear Cyrus . . . The season here since May 18th last has been unprecedented for the quantity of rain that has fallen, and consequently the bad state of the roads. The cold was not so very severe (17° Fah.) but it continued so long that it froze every thing badly. I saw plenty of ice in my field 1½ in. thick and in a water bbl. 2¾ in. thick. Of course all sugar cane was frozen hard. I had 110 acres frozen—over ⅓ my crop, but fortunately since that time the weather has been cloudy and quite cool so that up to this time the cane is little injured and we are still making good sugar. Three or four warm days with sunshine will now do much damage. I have still in the field 68 acres and cannot probably save it all. The reason of our being so much behind in securing the crop is the bad condition of our roads from the very commencement. Our only trouble has been to get the cane to the mill, except with myself, who lost ten days of our best weather by damage to my mill engine.

Am afraid the orange trees are injured by the freeze, but it is too soon to determine yet. Many think next years crop of cane is already hurt. . . .

Pattersonville, La., Feby. 7, 1881

Dear Cyrus . . . I had hoped before this time to report to you good weather in Louisiana, but it has grown much worse lately than before. Our roads are really impassible. No one thinks of traveling except by rail, or possibly a short distance on horse back. We had yesterday, in the morning, 3 ¾ in. rain and this P. M. it is raining quite hard again. The freeze did much damage. I lost about 20 acres of cane by it, but should not, had not a serious accident occurred to my mill engine. I know that many of my finest orange

⁸⁰ St. Mary's Parish gave Garfield 2,181 and Hancock 571 in the election of 1880. Of the 4,511 registered voters, 3,343 were colored. Oscar Arroyo, *Louisiana State Register* (New Orleans, 1881), 30-31.

trees are killed, but cannot tell the full extent of the damage till we have considerable warm weather. No plowing or planting is yet done since the end of sugar making. Last year many planters finished planting in January. It is my opinion very little sugar will be made in La. the present year, as much of the seed cane is frozen, and the stubble cane is very badly injured by the cold and wet weather.

I am projecting no new improvements, and am trying to curtail expenses in every possible way, in view of the bad prospect ahead for this season. I cannot advise you to loan any money in this state at present. . . .

Pattersonville, La., April 24, 1881

Dear Cyrus . . . The Northern R. R. men have seemed to put new life and some hope into the masses here, and now if the Kussed politicians will only let us alone I hope to live long enough to once more see the whole South happy and prosperous.⁸¹ The great and only real drawback to us here is the liability to epidemics but I hope this will be modified by the action of the different Boards of Health in the Miss. Valley who seem to be taking hold of the matter in earnest. Weather now very good and plant cane doing well. The stubble will however be of very little account. There is plenty of water coming down from up river which may give us trouble, tho' I feel quite safe myself. . . .

Pattersonville, La., June 19th 1881

Dear Cyrus . . . The crops generally in the whole state are very poor, and from four to six weeks behind last season. The very warm weather is now bringing those forward rapidly that have been properly cultivated. This time the Evil one has shown himself amongst our labourers, who have become entirely unreliable, and now are the causes of the greatest anxiety with our planters. Give me plenty good labor and I would now be fixed to do well enough. I have not been able to cultivate my crop properly this far, but if I had, it would have been exceptionally fine for this season. As it is I am about as well off as any of the planters, and will reach nearer an average crop than any one I know of. . . .

Pattersonville, La., March 5, 1882

Dear Cyrus . . . The high water of which you speak is just about reaching us now. I have about 18 inches against my levee and expect some three feet more, which will do no harm. We cannot of course tell what there is in store for us from above as it all depends upon the holding of the levees below the

⁸¹ The connection between the Pacific and New Orleans opened more of the West to settlement. The settlers demanded foodstuffs and lumber which Louisiana could supply. *Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1881, XXI (New York, 1883), 517.

mouth of Red river down to Donaldsonville on the Miss. We feel quite sure there cannot water enough get to us to harm from Red river and the Miss. thro' head of the Atchafalaya and Morganza Crevasse (broke in 1874 and never rebuilt). The present water we are getting has been held in check and forced thro' unusual channels by R. R. embankments recently built between us and the mouth of the Red. We have had a very mild winter, thermometer going to 28° only once. Our crops are very forward and promising, and if we escape disaster by water or freeze the season will be a fat one for La. sugar planters. As usual each year I am spending some considerable money on the levee and for new machinery to increase my sugar house capacity. I am glad to say the manner in which I have done work for other persons gives such satisfaction that I am obliged already to turn away work to the amt. of \$12,000 to \$15,000. Will probably make for self and others 2,500,000 lbs. sugar which is about the capacity of the house for our short season of say 75 days. . . .

Pattersonville, La., May 21, 1882

Dear Cyrus . . . You have probably seen quite full accounts in the papers of our disasters here, but I will mention a little what happened to us here at Calumet. There is no record of such high water here as we have had this season. The water of 1874 has been the standard for levees in this Parish up to this time, tho' in 1828 and 1867 it was somewhat higher than 1874. In 1874 my record time on this place was 8½ feet. This year it is 11 ft. 5¼ in. Almost three ft. higher, and of course went over the tops of all our levees, crossed both ridges of bayou Teche and thence into the Gulf of Mexico. I sent my mules and horses up the bayou to high land just in time to get them away. My whole place has been under water except a small pen I made and kept the water out for my sheep, cows and the Negroes stock. There was 11 inches of water on the main floor of my house. The Negroes were all driven out of the cabins and I housed them *all* in the sugar house. Poultry was all lost that was not sent away. Much uncared for stock on other places was lost. Also many cabins washed away and broken up and carried into the swamp or sea marsh. Many cabins floated down the bayou and lodged far from where they belonged. Not a bridge on the bayou was saved and most of our small field bridges are probably out in the gulf. Of these there was probably 300 on this place and cost about \$10 each. During the extreme high water we had the heaviest storm of wind and rain that I ever saw, which broke up my rafts of lumber (bridges plank etc.) and brought them one mile thro' open water directly into my cabins and fences. With the heavy sea and fearful wind this did immense damage, but luckily my sugar house escaped. The crops of course are all gone. I will save some seed, but only ½ enough to start again, and it will require two years with plenty of money to get back where I was 60 days ago. In ordinary cases it will take three years to get our crop of cane in

proper shape again. This disaster seems doubly severe as we suffered so much from the storm of September 1, 1879 and from the severe freeze in 1880 making our crops short in 1881 while in 1882 up to the time the water took us, our crops of cane were very large and the finest ever known here. The loss is such that I hear of some places that will not try to start again. Were it not for my fine sugar house and machinery with its large capacity to do outside work I think I should abandon and flee to the mountains. A low estimate for my losses compared with estimates of others is (private) \$75,000. My profits without disaster on my two places would have been \$50,000. *This is for yourself alone* to show you the terrible calamity to this community. The great progress and improvement in the states above us proved our ruin by letting all their water on us at once. Nothing but the assistance of the Gen'l Government can assure our safety here longer, or make the country worth anything. Can it afford to loose [*sic*] us? During the past six weeks we have been obliged to live in the garret, servants and all. I wanted my family to leave while they could, but they wouldn't go without me, and I *had* to stay and care for the wreck. I am not discouraged for I cannot afford to be, but the outlook is not cheering. . . .

Pattersonville, La., March 18, 1883

Dear Cyrus Our anxiety about the flood here again this year has passed and we are all very thankful. The outlook for us at one time was very bad, but it had a good effect in hastening the work on the Miss. river levees, where most of the *Gov't Work* was very much behind. By private subscription from our Parish alone we *gave* one Gov't. contractor several thousand dollars to assist in completing his work in time to protect us and it was well we did so. Our great anxiety now is the fear of a deflection of the water down the Miss. down the Atchafalaya river, which if not attended to at once by the Gov't. will flood for many years at least, five parishes with water that last year's will not compare with. . . .⁸²

Manitou, Col., Sept 2, 1883

Dear Cyrus . . . I note the sugar statistics you enclose. I was well aware of the situation and expect a change at next session of Congress, but we must for our interest do all we can to save our business. With the contingency of overflow removed we can stand quite a reduction in the tariff, but if we must loose [*sic*] one crop (which means two) each five years we will be *swamped* surely by any great reduction. We have given up all hope of any further assistance from the Gen'l. Government in the matter of levees and are now going to strain every nerve to try to protect ourselves by putting up our own

⁸² A levee convention at Baton Rouge, June 18, 1883, went on record opposing any deflection of the Mississippi and the Red rivers down the Atchafalaya. *Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1883, XXIII (New York, 1884), 496.

levees and by assisting Arkansas with theirs. I have been away from the plantation four weeks and continue to hear very favorable reports about the crop. . . .³³

Calumet Plantn. La., Jany. 27, 1884

Dear Cyrus . . . I arrived here again Octr. 2nd and since that time have been hard at work every day until a week since. Commenced making sugar Oct. 15th for others, and for myself the 22nd and now expect to close the house Tuesday the 29th inst. with "all told" about 4,000,000 lbs. sugar made. Of this about 1,200,000 lbs. is the product of 300 acres of Calumet Plantn. The crop for the No. of acres is quite remarkable, and exceeds anything in the State. The price of sugar however is very low and the rate of wages very high, so the profit is not large.³⁴ I think it is more profitable for me to make sugar for others at 1¢ per lb. than to cultivate the cane. I have however become very much captivated in the business and enjoy every part of it, except the Negro.

If we have no unfriendly legislation in Congress this winter and there is a fair prospect of our being able to make a living here raising sugar, I wish to make more additions and improvements this season, which will necessitate my presence here most of the time. I have little to say against free trade, except that it, or even much reduction in the present sugar tariff will ruin all Southern Louisiana and throw about 400,000 Negroes out of employment. Our lands are worthless for any cultivation except sugar cane, producing only 12 or 15 bush. corn per acre, and climate too warm and damp for cotton.

I am holding quite an amount of sugar and molasses, hoping for a favorable change in the market, but the agitation of the Mexican treaty³⁵ and a reduction of tariff, in addition to large sugar crops in foreign countries makes an advance very doubtful. If you care to have me, I can send you some *pure*

³³ Thompson took his wife to the mountains for her health.

³⁴ "The laborer on a sugar plantation in Louisiana, during the cultivation of the crop receives 75 cents per day, and during the "rolling" or sugar making season \$1.50. In addition to wages, he is furnished, free of charge, rations, house, fuel and garden plot." Harris, *Louisiana Products, Resources and Attractions*, 57.

³⁵ A treaty of commercial reciprocity between Mexico and the United States was concluded at Washington on January 20, 1883, and was ratified by the Senate on March 11, 1884. Legislation, under the treaty requirements, to put the provisions into effect, was never passed. From the outset both tobacco and sugar interests opposed it; the latter claimed that the free importation of sugar would soon increase the Mexican crop to such an extent that Louisiana sugar would be driven from the market. In February, 1886, when Congress was considering legislation to put the agreement in force, the *Banker's Magazine* pointed out that the admission of sugar without duty would not only ruin the Louisiana planter but would also result in the importation of cheap

cane sugar for your family use. We are really dependent upon the local trade for our market, adulteration and cheap freight rates drive us out of the western states.⁸⁶

The states (La., Ark., and Miss.,) with some Government aid have their levees nearly completed as before the war, and we now anticipate little more overflows. An occasional break of one or two levees on this side of the Miss. river we can protect ourselves against, but not against 150 miles of it down. With levees up and no legislative interference I expect to see the crop of the state doubled in five years and tripled in ten. Our improved machinery enables us to compete with the refineries, except in adulterating and they may drive the planters into that, altho I think none of it is done yet on our plantations. . . .

Pattersonville, La., St. Mary's Parish, April 20, 1884

Dear Cyrus . . . The past two years I have felt perfectly secure from water as the Miss. river levees have been rebuilt, and I suppose in a substantial manner. The result proves the contrary and we are again covered with water on the East side of bayou 8 ft. deep. I had about 850 acres of cane and will loose [*sic*] about 350 acres. Hope to have enough left to make seed and make sugar to pay running expenses for the year.

A reduction of the tariff to assist in the reduction of the present low price of sugar will soon bring us all to grief without the assistance from overflows.⁸⁷ Last seasons work was to me very satisfactory excepting the price of sugar and molasses. My crop was a remarkable one for Louisiana, 300 acres of cane giving me 1,200,000 lbs. of sugar. Do not think any crop in the State taken as a whole was ever equal to it. It is gratifying as it shows I am on the right track both in agriculture and manufacture. At the time I sent you 610 lbs. sugar [February, 1884] it was worth here 7¼¢ per lb. Now it is hard work to get 6½ cts. per lb. with prospect of going lower. Two of our largest and best planters in my neighborhood have had to give up, and I hear are about to turn over all they have to their creditors. I think I have demonstrated that

coolie labor into Mexico and hence close the labor market of that country to the American. George M. Weston, "The Proposed Free Admission of Sugar from Mexico," in *Banker's Magazine* (New York, 1846-), XL (1885-1886), 582-86; *Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1883, XXIII, 535; *ibid.*, 1884, XXIV (New York, 1885), 493; 24 *United States Statutes at Large*, 975-88.

⁸⁶ Undoubtedly refers to cheap steamer rates. Importation of Philippine, Hawaiian, and other Pacific island sugar increased rapidly in the 1880's.

⁸⁷ The Morrison bill, among other items, called for a reduction of 80 per cent of the import duties on sugar. The House killed the bill by the close vote of 159 to 155. *Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1884, XXIV, 203-205; Edward Stanwood, *American Tariff Controversies in the Nineteenth Century* (New York and Boston, 1903), 220-21.

with a moderate amt. of money and the use of common sense and energy, sugar can be made here in large quantities so as to be profitable at 7 or 7½ cents per lb. Under the old system I cannot see how any money at all was made. . . .

Pattersonville, La., May 4, 1884

Dear Cyrus . . . I have saved about 150 acres cane on East side of bayou, some good and some damaged. Also about 400 acres on West side. I expect little work from my neighbors as they have also lost heavily. In Feb'y. I bought the place adjoining me, which now gives me in all about 1200 acres land to cultivate, that is cleared. Cannot use it all until canaled and leveed somewhat, which will take a year or two to do. Our trouble is that the Atchafalaya river has increased so much in size of late years that land cultivated five years ago without levees now requires them. Before the late war high water was almost unknown here except by traditions. On Alice plantn. (half mine) we saved our entire crop, which is all on East side of bayou. I will make a hurried trip to Chicago on the 18th to attend the Industrial Congress 21st. No matter what our opinions are about Political Economy, we must all look after our individual interests. . . .

Pattersonville, La., July 14, 1885

Dear Sir [Cyrus]: . . . I am afraid to leave until my new machinery is in the place, as my crop depends upon having it here and ready to work early in Oct. I find I will be short of cash and obliged to borrow about \$5000. If you can send me your check for it without any inconvenience to yourself to reach me about Aug. 5th to 10th it will accommodate me. . . .

Pattersonville, La., July 23, 1885

Dear Cyrus Yours of 17th inst. enclosing check for \$5000. is recd. I am much obliged for the loan and enclose my note for the amt. on demand. . . .

Pattersonville, La., November 19, 1885

Dear Cyrus . . . Sugar making is full blast all over the State. I have made about 250 tons sugar and take the *horns* or *broom* as you please, for quality in N. O. market for the State. Greatly due to Wibray. If I save my crop in good order will make total about 1000 tons for Calumet. Am making what is called Yellow Clarified and La. can beat the refineries in quality. It is becoming very popular tho' it has only been made to any extent for about two years. . . .

Pattersonville, La., January 10, 1886

Dear Cyrus: . . . Yesterday the thermometer stood at 14° Fah. for many hours. This A. M. at 22° and now 9 o'clock a. m. at 26°. We are not generally prepared for such weather here and altho' we have been very comfortable ourselves, there must have been very much suffering amongst the

poorer classes. The weather has been quite dry so that stock has not suffered so much as if rain or snow had come with the cold. Have made 1,750,000 lbs sugar and kept my *Brand* at head of the list for the kind of sugar made. . . .

Pattersonville, La., Feby. 21, 1886

Dear Cyrus: . . . The contingencies of our business here are many and very destructive. These could stand if we were getting the old prices for sugar, with my present machinery and mode of manufacture. But unfortunately the prices are down to about cost of production, and what is worse I think permanently so. Now what are we to do; we must compete successfully with the Beet men of Europe, and I think we can do it by the use of modern improved machinery, and intelligent work in the field and in the sugar house. Every improvement in old methods I have made the past three years have proved by experience to be in the right direction for increasing quantity of sugar and reducing cost of same. I still see much to do which must be done (I think) by all planters who expect to have their business survive. I am in so deep I must go through now and take the chances. Some of my good friends here who are large and good planters hesitate about the expenditures on account of the dark outlook in the future, but I have made up my mind to go ahead so long as I can pay all debts, and have no one suffer for my foolishness if I fail except myself. I will have more acres of cane this year than last, and if it does well the present evaporators (open heaters of primitive [*sic*] style) will not be sufficient to save the crop and I propose to substitute the latest and best style of evaporators for making syrup call the double or triple effect. It will cost considerable with all necessary appendages, and I will probably have to borrow some money to get thro' with it. I think I will have no trouble on this score as I was *never refused* whenever I have asked for a loan.

I enclose check \$5183.00 note amt. due you.

P. S. The check is on B. H. Howell, Son & Co., New York, who sell most of my molasses.

Pattersonville, La., March 15, 1886

Dear Cyrus: . . . The crops promise *at present* to be fair, with no high water to fear, tho there are enough other contingencies for us to deal with. I do not think the Morrison Tariff bill will pass in its present shape, if at all.⁸⁸ I think our sugar interests here should have more consideration from

⁸⁸ Morrison again attempted tariff revision in the Forty-ninth Congress. The motion to resolve the House into a Committee of the Whole to consider his bill failed by a vote of 140 to 157. *Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1886, XXVI (New York, 1887), 252; Stanwood, *American Tariff Controversies*, 225.

the Gov't. Either take off the tariff duties at once or let us alone. The continued agitation is ruining us. We cannot make sugar to compete with the Beet sugar of Europe without better and expensive appliances. These we must have or quit I am fully convinced. No one wishes to make the expenditures so long as it is so uncertain what the gov't will do with us. Again we cannot get the machinery from abroad where it is comparatively cheap because our home people (manufactures) are protected by a duty on Foreign Machinery of 45%. Give us free trade in sugar machinery if sugar comes in free and I will not complain; only I will have to quit or get the machinery at once and pay an extravagant price on acct. of duty. Again the Gov't should do something to protect us from water. There is no question about the Miss. river leaving its channel at the mouth of Red river and coming down upon us if something is not done to prevent it. And very soon too. We very much need a few statesmen in Congress, and the devil should have most of the politicians. Excuse me for bothering you about these matters. New England has had her days of protection until they can *go alone* and we should be allowed the same chance for a few years, when I am sure we can stand alone too. If we cannot, let us go. It is Yankee enterprise, energy and money that is now making the effort to establish the sugar interest permanently,³⁹ and not the dull sluggard of former years with their slave labor. . . .

Pattersonville, La., August 12, 1886

Dear Cyrus . . . My machinery has not yet left N. Y. Contract was for August 1st. I think I will get it up in time. Excessive rains have injured the crops of corn and cane in this immediate vicinity. Will you have \$5000 to loan again about 1st of Oct.? I may and may not need it, but think I will. Please write me on receipt of this and if not convenient will arrange elsewhere. . . .

Pattersonville, La., January 24, 1887

Dear Cyrus . . . Although I made but a half crop the past season I did better than a very large majority of the sugar planters, and some of the results are quite gratifying, as they show what can be done here. The failure of the crop was almost universal in the state. I do not think more than five or six places made a fair crop. The cause of our trouble in the western sugar Parishes was first the season being four weeks later than usual, which put our cultivating season back from May and June to June and July. Our rains that commence usually about then, began in May and continued until August giving us no chance to cultivate properly. Commencing May 26th we were able to

³⁹ "Some of the best sugar planters in the State are from the North, and many of the former overseers of the slaves are the owners of the plantations, and the sons of the former owners have in turn become overseers." Harris, *Louisiana Products, Resources and Attractions*, 9.

plow only $7\frac{1}{2}$ days in the next 65 days and the middle of August found some planters doing the work of June. Such a season was never known by our oldest men here. Well the consequences was only one half the quantity of cane per acre of land. The sugar making season was delightful, all crops were saved early. We were done cutting cane about Dec. 15th. My usual ton[n]age per acre is from 25 to 28 tons average. This year only $13\frac{1}{2}$ tons. The price of sugar has been the lowest known here, and the only gratification we have here is that *all* my machinery has worked well and we have beaten the *state* in the quality of sugar again, as well as in the quantity per ton of cane, getting 161.34 lbs. per ton of cane, where the usual amount of centrifugal sugar has been about 120 to 130 lbs. We have also consumed less fuel than any plantation in the state, per 1000 lbs. sugar. Our quantity being as 7 is to the next best 9—with an average of 14. . . .

Pattersonville, La., March 8, 1887

Dear Cyrus . . . Wibray has recently returned from Cuba, where he went to acquire any possible knowledge he could about the manufacture of sugar. His trip was pleasant and instructive, but he learned little of use to us in the way of business.

Our season is about six weeks ahead of last year and sugar planters prospected [*sic*] for a large crop are as good as any one has ever seen here since the war, your humble servant no exception to the above. My acreage is not quite so large as last year, or 1885, but from the *present* outlook will make as much or more sugar than ever. A general war in Europe *may* possibly help us a little in price; but we live at 5cts. per lb. tho' have less money for improvements of the place. The cane planted last fall on Calumet is about 20 inches high. Corn planted is up nicely. Trees almost in full leaf and plenty of nice green grass everywhere. . . .

Pattersonville, La., May 1, 1887

Dear Cyrus: . . . One week since we had a good rain and all crops are now growing finely. I hear of no poor cane crop in the State. Mine is very fine and with fairly good weather will make a great deal of sweetening. I keep on spending money on improvements and I suppose I will as long as I live. Hope it will do some one good if not myself. Will spend on sugar house and on levee about \$10,000 this year. I consider that I have proved that a success can be made of this business if we can get five cents per lb. for our sugar and 15 cts. per gall. for molasses. But the business cannot be done without a very large outlay of money, and on a large scale. With above prices the smaller places and those worked on the old plan will soon have to succumb even with no change in the sugar tariff. I think a reduction of 25% in the duty will ruin us, but with 10% I think I can still make a good living. Our destinies are in the hands of Congress. . . .

Pattersonville, La., October 9, 1887

Dear Cyrus . . . Shortly after my return we had a rain and wind squall that blowed the cane down some what, and will interfere some with its ripening. The season seems early and many planters are now making sugar. I am about ready to start up but think the cane is rather green. We are also expecting . . . some trouble with labor about the 20th inst. and if it comes I prefer to meet it before rather than after starting the sugar house. . . .⁴⁰

Pattersonville, La., Sat., December 3rd, 1887

Dear Sir [Cyrus]: . . . After many vexatious delays, mostly the result of labor difficulties with the blacks, we are running at rapid pace and making excellent sugar.

We have in the household this season a chemist and, for the present, two experts, one from England, with whom I am experimenting without marked success, in several new processes. . . .

Wibray J. Thompson⁴¹

Pattersonville, La., December 11, 1887

Dear Cyrus . . . I lost two of the best weeks for sugar making by the strike, and the past ten days the rains have made the road so bad we have only done half the work in gathering the crop. The roads are better now and if rain holds off I hope to do some good work this coming week. Now have 275 acres cane in the fields, and with reasonably good weather we may get done Jany. 15th prox. Have made about 1,250,000 lbs. sugar, and not less than 1,000,000 more to make if weather permits. On the 1st or 15th of Jany I have to change managers, and it will take some time to get the new ones into my way of doing things.

Matters of the Tariff look as though there might be lively times at Washington during the present session of Congress. . . .

Pattersonville, La., March 4, 1888

Dear Cyrus . . . Last year was a favorable one to our sugar planters. The

⁴⁰ The gravity of the situation warranted Adjutant General P. G. T. Beauregard sending two companies of artillery and two companies of cavalry into Pattersonville, November 5, 1887. In an attempt by the sheriff and deputies on the same day to arrest some "of the ringleaders of the turbulent negro strikes," four colored laborers were killed. The blacks threatened to kill any workers, white or black, who might be employed to replace them, and attempted to burn the cane of the planters who hired these laborers. The result was always an exchange of shots between the strikers and planters or deputies thus making police duty by the troops necessary. *Annual Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Louisiana for the Year 1887* (Baton Rouge, 1888), 26-27.

⁴¹ Wibray Thompson acknowledged, with this letter, the receipt of a book from Woodman.

small places made some money, and the larger ones with good modern machinery made considerable. Our sugar sold for one half cent per lb. more than in 1886. I cut for the mill 640 acres. I am giving a little over 14,000 tons of cane, from which I made 2,550,000 lbs. sugar about. A little not yet weighed up. This is more than I expected. I rec'd the highest prices, exceeded the yield of sugar per ton of cane made last year (which broke all records) by at least 12 lbs. I feel satisfied with my efforts here in every respect and hope to continue advancing both in agriculture and manufacture of sweetening. I realize that I have taken great chances in my large expenditures the past five or six years and now the results are very gratifying. As you know our property here is not salable except at a nominal price. I spent more money on this place in 1885 and 1886 than the place will sell for today. If the tariff question could only be settled if only for ten years, and taken out of the hands of Politicians I think capital would seek investment here, and make sugar plantations a salable article. It is the continued agitation that troubles us. If we are to have free trade, give it to us in everything. . . .

Pattersonville, La., Decr. 20, 1888

Dear Cyrus . . . Have been done work on cane one week, and now working off the second grade sugar. Will get thro' this week. I made no white sugar this season, so cannot send you or other friends any. I will make 1,700,000 in place of 2,600,000 lbs. last year. Cane was so poor that it took over 200 acres for seed for 1889. The cane I worked into sugar (only about 8000 tons) was very rich in sugar and my record for pounds per ton of cane so large that I will loose [*sic*] my veracity if I state it in La. I fear. My Alice plantn. is doing as well as last year. It costs me fully \$8000 to rebuild what the storm actually destroyed on this place. But the buildings will be new and somewhat larger than those blown down to pieces.

.

Wibray is away for a week or so making examinations of sugar houses still working and worth looking over. I have 260 acres of cane planted in Novr. which look in fine condition as well as the seed saved to plant now when the weather permits. Expect to have 800 acres next year. . . .

Pattersonville, La., March 17, 1889

Dear Cyrus . . . I have requested the State Nat. Bank of N. O. to send you N. Y. Exchg, for \$5123.60 in payment of my note and Int. to you dated Sept. 20, 1889 [*sic*] for \$5000. Int. for 184 days at 5% \$120.60 and \$3.00 for error in figuring int. on the money (\$5000) you loaned me some three years since. I have the money now and can as well pay it as not. I am much obliged to you for the accommodation. I think I wrote you sometime since that I had bought another place adjoining Calumet and have sold my interest in Alice plant. about

25 miles up the bayou. This gives me 2000 A. arable land in one body with 1800 A. now under the plow.⁴² I found I could not buy cane to supply my sugar house hence this change. I now have land enough, and where it can all have my personal attention. The present indications favor a large crop on my places, and if they hold out I shall have to increase my evaporating apparatus somewhat during the summer. I will have to be here until about July 1st after that time I have no plans but think my trip in the summer may take in New England. . . .⁴³

A FREE LABOR CONTRACT, 1867

EDITED BY JESSIE MELVILLE FRASER

This article of agreement¹ between D. T. Crosby and five freedmen offers an illuminating record of the economic transition through which landowners and agricultural laborers passed during the "tragic era" in South Carolina. Obviously the contract was retroactive. Although its terms were to cover the provision of supplies and tools and the regulations of agricultural work for the calendar year, January 1, 1867, to January 1, 1868, it is not dated on the first of those dates but on April 14, 1867, the beginning of the agricultural year and a natural season in which landowner and "hands" could come to terms.² Whether or not Crosby's dating of his contract in April was unique or typical can only be ascertained by comparison with similar contracts that may be found. It is quite possible that he had "carried" these laborers on the plantation

⁴² In February, 1884 (see letter dated May 4, 1884), Thompson purchased an adjoining plantation. The Thompson Papers do not contain the previous letter of which he writes.

⁴³ The correspondence of Thompson and Woodman ended with the death of the latter on March 30, 1889.

¹ The manuscript of this contract came into the hands of Mrs. David R. Flenniken of Columbia, South Carolina, a native and former resident of Fairfield County. Some years before her death Mrs. Flenniken gave it to the editor. Spelling, capitalization, and punctuation have been accurately reproduced; the indentation of paragraphs represents the only editorial liberty assumed. On the back of the manuscript are two memoranda that appear to have been made in the handwriting of the agreement. The first, "Contract 1867," is written in ink; the second, in pencil, consists of a sum of nine figures, "216.16, 118.93, 618.24, 86.10, 86.24, 206.04, 4.50, 84.54, 67.36," totalling "1488.11." It would be enlightening to know whether they represent monthly expenditures made by Crosby in sustaining his side of the contract from April through December, 1867.

² The dates of this agreement place it between the ratifications of the Thirteenth and the Fourteenth amendments to the Constitution of the United States.

25 miles up the bayou. This gives me 2000 A. arable land in one body with 1800 A. now under the plow.⁴² I found I could not buy cane to supply my sugar house hence this change. I now have land enough, and where it can all have my personal attention. The present indications favor a large crop on my places, and if they hold out I shall have to increase my evaporating apparatus somewhat during the summer. I will have to be here until about July 1st after that time I have no plans but think my trip in the summer may take in New England. . . .⁴³

A FREE LABOR CONTRACT, 1867

EDITED BY JESSIE MELVILLE FRASER

This article of agreement¹ between D. T. Crosby and five freedmen offers an illuminating record of the economic transition through which landowners and agricultural laborers passed during the "tragic era" in South Carolina. Obviously the contract was retroactive. Although its terms were to cover the provision of supplies and tools and the regulations of agricultural work for the calendar year, January 1, 1867, to January 1, 1868, it is not dated on the first of those dates but on April 14, 1867, the beginning of the agricultural year and a natural season in which landowner and "hands" could come to terms.² Whether or not Crosby's dating of his contract in April was unique or typical can only be ascertained by comparison with similar contracts that may be found. It is quite possible that he had "carried" these laborers on the plantation

⁴² In February, 1884 (see letter dated May 4, 1884), Thompson purchased an adjoining plantation. The Thompson Papers do not contain the previous letter of which he writes.

⁴³ The correspondence of Thompson and Woodman ended with the death of the latter on March 30, 1889.

¹ The manuscript of this contract came into the hands of Mrs. David R. Flenniken of Columbia, South Carolina, a native and former resident of Fairfield County. Some years before her death Mrs. Flenniken gave it to the editor. Spelling, capitalization, and punctuation have been accurately reproduced; the indentation of paragraphs represents the only editorial liberty assumed. On the back of the manuscript are two memoranda that appear to have been made in the handwriting of the agreement. The first, "Contract 1867," is written in ink; the second, in pencil, consists of a sum of nine figures, "216.16, 118.93, 618.24, 86.10, 86.24, 206.04, 4.50, 84.54, 67.36," totalling "1488.11." It would be enlightening to know whether they represent monthly expenditures made by Crosby in sustaining his side of the contract from April through December, 1867.

² The dates of this agreement place it between the ratifications of the Thirteenth and the Fourteenth amendments to the Constitution of the United States.

through the preceding winter and expected to do it again in the winter of 1867-1868, after the crops were harvested. Following the terms of the contract, Dink and Barnet (adults), and Dal, Wade, and John (minors), made their marks at the places designated respectively for them.

State of South Carolina
Fairfield District

Article of agreement³ between D. T. Crosby and the following freedmen whose names are hereunto attached.

1st The Said freedmen agree to hire their time as labourers on the plantation of D. T. Crosby from Jan 1st 1867 to Jan 1st 1868 to conduct themselves faithfully, honestly, civilly and diligently, to perform all labor on Said plantation, or such as may be connected therewith that may be required by the Said D. T. Crosby nor to leave the premises during working hours, without the consent of the proprietor. The Said freedmen agree to perform the daily tasks hitherto usually allotted on Said plantation.⁴ In all cases where tasks can not be assigned they agree to labor diligently ten hours a day.

For every days labor lost by absence, refusal or neglect to perform the daily task or labor Said servants shall forfeit fifty cents (50cts) If absent voluntarily or without leave, two dollars a day. if absent more than one day without leave to be subject to dismissal from the plantation and forfeiture of Share in the crop or wages as the case may be.

Said freedmen agree to take good care of all utensils tools or implements committed to their charge and to pay for the same if injured or destroyed also, to be kind and gentle to all work animals under their charge and to pay for any injury which they may sustain while in their hands through their carelessness or neglect.

They agree to be directed in their labor by the foreman, to obey his orders, and that he shall report all absences, neglect refusal to work or disorderly conduct to the employer Said employer agrees to treat his employees with justice and kindness, and to divide the crop with them in the following proportions, viz. Dink and three boys gets a portion of the crop one-third of the corn peas and potatoes gathered and prepared for market, and one-third nett proceeds of

³ The agreement is reminiscent of European manorial arrangements. See "A Manor of the Fourteenth Century, A. D. 1307," in Edward P. Cheyney (ed.), "English Manorial Documents," in University of Pennsylvania, *Translations and Reprints From The Original Sources of European History*, III (Philadelphia, 1902), No. V, 7-11. See also, Henri Pirenne, *Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe* (New York, 1937), 63-65, and Rowland E. Prothero (The Right Honorable Lord Ernle), *English Farming, Past and Present* (London, 1912), 35. For contemporary problems of economic interdependence of the two races in South Carolina, see Governor Duncan Clinch Heyward's historical memoir, *Seed From Madagascar* (Chapel Hill, 1937), Chap. XVII.

⁴ Suggestive of the phrase, "the custom of the manor."

the ginned cotton or its market value, and Dink agrees to pay Barnet fifty five dollars in currency and a pair of shoes at the end of the year. Dink also agrees to furnish, Barnet, with one peck of meal 2 1/2 lbs of meat a week during the year. . . .

And I further agree to give Dink (one fifth) of the wheat crop harvested by them.

Said employer agrees to furnish animals, and to feed them, also waggons carts, plantation implements such as cannot be made by the laborers on . . . the plantation. All violations of the terms of this contract, or of the rules and regulations of the employer, may be punished by dismissal from the plantation with forfeiture of his or her share of the crop or wages, as the case may be.

The employer or his agent shall keep a book, in which shall be entered all advances made by him, and fines and forfeitures for lost time, or any cause, which book shall be received as evidence in same manner as merchants books are now received in Courts of Justice, and shall have a right to deduct from the share of each laborer all his or her fines and forfeitures also all advances made by him.

The laborer shall not sell any agricultural products to any person whatever without the consent of the employer until after the division of the crops.

The laborer shall commence work at sunrise and be allowed from one to two hours each day for their meals, according to season of the year.

Witness our hands &c this

14 April 1867

Samuel Price ⁵

Minors

his
Dink X mark
makes

his
Barnet X mark
makes

his
Dal X mark
mak[es]

his
Wade X mark
makes

his
John X mark
makes

⁵ Either a notary or a witness, perhaps the overseer.

Book Reviews

American Husbandry. Edited by Harry J. Carman. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939. Pp. lxi, 582. \$5.00.)

Although this "Account of the Soil, Climate, Production and Agriculture of the British Colonies in North America and the West Indies" constitutes the most significant, comprehensive source of information concerning American colonial agricultural practices, it has been generally unfamiliar and unavailable to all but a few who have worked intensively on American agricultural history. Published anonymously in London in 1775, it received little contemporary attention in the Mother Country, the only tangible instance being an unsigned and scathing commentary in the *Monthly Review* for 1776 which was summarized in the *Scots Magazine* for the same year. The work was unknown or ignored in America at the time, due probably to the already tense relations between Great Britain and her continental colonies. Except for a few passing references, it was apparently unnoticed by bibliographers and writers until 1919 when Lyman Carrier published an essay which emphasized its great value as a historical source, discussed its authorship, and called attention to the scarcity of copies. Harry J. Carman has, therefore, done American historiography a distinct service in providing a modern edition of this important work.

The Carman edition presents the original text with modern spelling, punctuation, and typography. Except for one or two instances where the old-style "s" has been rendered "f"—thus changing "seed" to "feed"—the transcription has been ably done. Generous editorial footnotes, carefully differentiated from those carried by the original text, and an adequate index also greatly enhance the usability of the new edition. In addition, the introduction includes reprintings of the anonymous criticism in the *Monthly Review* and the article by Carrier and an essay by Carman on the authorship of the work.

The text of *American Husbandry* indicates that it was the work of a compiler rather than a direct observer or investigator, and this fact must be kept in mind whenever the work is used. If the circumstances of its composition were known, its value would be more clearly defined. The contemporary critic in the *Monthly Review* hinted that Arthur Young was the author, and Carrier has presented evidence in favor of Dr. John Mitchell. Carman rules out Mitchell and concludes that the case for Young is "more convincing." He also considers Dr. John Campbell and the three Burkes, Edmund, William, and Richard. Although the author used the pseudonym "An American," the contents indicate an English-

man who knew conditions in the colonies, with possible exceptions, only through the correspondence and books by others. The evidence in English sources has been sifted, but perhaps the solution lies buried in American sources. At least, the author asserted that he had carried on "pretty long correspondence" (p. 352) with a Georgia planter and that he had secured information from officers in "Eastern Louisiana" (p. 376) and the Illinois Country (p. 400) and still more from "planters, agents, officers, &c." (p. 362) who had lived in the Floridas. Although this intriguing problem remains for historical detectives, *American Husbandry* will, as Carman says, "in all probability, continue as the principal source of information concerning one of the leading economic activities of colonial America" (p. lxi).

United States Bureau of Agricultural Economics

EVERETT E. EDWARDS

Malaria and Colonization in the Carolina Low Country, 1526-1696. By St. Julien Ravenel Childs. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1940. Pp. 292. Bibliography, maps. \$2.50.)

In this study the author considers colonization and malaria in the Carolina Low Country from the viewpoint of a social historian rather than from that of a natural scientist. The subject matter is treated as "anthropological phenomena belonging to the scope of history proper as distinct from natural history." The area studied may be defined as "extending from peninsular Florida to Cape Hatteras, embracing what was once called the rice coast." The period covered is from 1526 to 1696—from the time of De Allyn's unsuccessful colony in the Cape Fear region through the permanent settlement of the Carolinas by the English.

The first efforts of the Spanish and French to plant colonies in the Low Country are described in the early chapters of the book. In some detail the author relates the pertinent facts about these unsuccessful attempts and concludes that malaria probably was not an important factor in the failure of these colonial ventures. "Scurvy and other diet-deficiency maladies were, apparently, the physical ills which handicapped colonization most heavily. As for malaria, the natural affinity of the Low Country for that disease apparently has little significance for the history of the period just examined." As a matter of fact, the author is inclined to doubt that early (before 1670) European settlement in the Low Country was attended by malaria in any form.

Evidence concerning virulent malaria in the English settlement at Ashley River during its first year (1670) is extremely tenuous and indicates that if the disease were present at all it was in a very mild form. Indeed, "evidence points strongly to the conclusion that the 1671 season of anophelene activity passed over the settlement without any type of malaria becoming epidemic." Facts relating to the disease for the next eight years (1671-1679) are equally nebulous,

the author being able to state only that "if malaria became endemic in South Carolina in 1678 or 1679, certainly immigration did not suffer during the next few years." In the period 1682-1696 the disease became more virulent, but at no time in the seventeenth century did it become the "sinister power" of "popular histories." As a matter of fact, the author finds that "even in the eighteenth century it cannot be taken for granted that Low Country malaria, virulent as it doubtless became, exercised a profound influence on society"—an interesting if not startling conclusion.

The study shows due regard for the canons of historical research and evaluation of evidence. It is a sound and scholarly piece of work, but in several places throughout the book the reader is likely to find himself lost in a maze of details which might best have been omitted or put into footnotes. Dr. Childs' practice of citing authors' names without the titles of their works this reviewer found confusing at times. For example, on page 112 in the middle of a long footnote is the citation "Louise F. Brown, *The First Earl of Shaftesbury*." One hundred and six pages later there is the citation "Brown, pp. 293-299." There are so many other instances of this that one has constantly to refer to the bibliography for titles.

Armstrong Junior College

J. P. DYER

George Washington. Volumes I and II. By Nathaniel Wright Stephenson and Waldo Hilary Dunn. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1940. Pp. xiv, 473; viii, 596. Illustrations, maps. \$10.00.)

Of the making of biographies of George Washington there will probably be no end so long as his country shall be able to lift its voice and call him father. There are those who seem to wonder what it is in the life and character of Washington that so securely holds the interest, not of Americans alone but also of a larger and eager world, that they never cease to clamor for yet another story of his life and achievements. Wherein, they ask, lies the secret of Washington's appeal both to layman and to scholar? Is it some enigma in his character that holds a grip on the popular mind and almost perennially lures some historian to attempt its solution? Every biography of Washington is, in part at least, an effort to answer these questions; and probably more than anything else it is the failure of each to answer them satisfactorily that supplies the chief impulse to each new biography. There is reason for believing that the present work was in large measure inspired by such promptings.

Yet to point out errors of fact or interpretation, to correct faults of portraiture, essential as these objectives are conceived to be, do not in any sense constitute the main purpose of the work. That purpose is positive, not negative. In the language of the preface, the aim has been to sketch "a personal portrait," "a portrait of Washington in narrative," to offer "an interpretation of character."

There was no purpose, it is distinctly stated, to write a history of the period, "a history in which the man Washington would be lost in the crowding events," but rather "to discuss events only as they affected Washington or were affected by him." In short, "the purpose has been to make Washington the central figure on the canvas, the focal point of all the narrative, indeed the presiding genius of American liberty and American nationality."

Unfortunately, the designer was not to be permitted the full fruition of his plan. This life of Washington was projected by Professor Nathaniel Wright Stephenson, who was, however, stricken by death when he had progressed only so far as Washington's first inauguration. The completion of the work was accordingly entrusted to Professor Waldo Hilary Dunn, with whom Professor Stephenson, in the course of his endeavor, had taken counsel. It comes about therefore that of the thirty-two chapters covering the entire period of Washington's life, twenty-five are to be regarded as the product of Professor Stephenson, although these were much revised by Professor Dunn, while the last seven chapters are entirely the work of the latter.

In following through his plan to sketch a portrait of Washington in narrative Professor Stephenson has clung rather closely to the chronology of events, a mode of treatment in behalf of which much might be said, particularly for the earlier years, for it is in just that manner that we come to know people of our own generation. The reader is introduced into the Washington environment, is privileged to watch the young Washington grow to manhood, to observe him month by month and year by year as he forges ahead in the world about him, eventually achieving that national leadership that gives him his unique place in history. For the period of Washington's youth, however, there is so little that is definitely known of him that every biographer is put to it to fill the gaps. Here Professor Stephenson shows a gift of imagination that enables him, if not to every one's satisfaction, yet skillfully to put together the pieces of the picture and to choose appropriate colors for the blank spaces. If, as some may think, he now and then dallies overlong about one or another of these vacuums, others will doubtless wish he had tarried longer. To some enthusiasts the question whether he was or was not passionately, desperately in love with Sally Fairfax will seem to be vital to an understanding of the true George Washington. Others will probably be more concerned over the question whether at Monmouth Washington actually "swore like an angel from heaven" or in more familiar language.

Many readers will no doubt be allured by those personal touches bestowed upon sundry people who find places in the picture. Martha Washington, for instance, becomes all the more endearing from being called "Little Martha"; Mrs. Knox certainly seems to capture a larger space in the scene from being described as "fat," "the fattest woman in America"; while the estimate of General Knox's military ability suffers not at all from our being told that he was "mammoth." (Incidentally, one wonders whether the author failed to come upon the story of how Washington admonished General Knox to trim the boat that

fearsome night when they were crossing the Delaware.) Not all, however, of these characterizing terms are merely soothing or informative. Some of them are severely critical, and, however appropriate at times, occasionally they stick so persistently as to suggest that they are the person's "other name." Congress, for instance, was undoubtedly sometimes "cowardly," occasionally "hysterical," and oftentimes "miserable" (in more senses than one); but they were scarcely chronic infirmities of that much afflicted and much abused body. Perhaps the most objectionable of these oft recurring characterizations is that of "berserk" ascribed to Washington when he went into a towering rage—as all agree he sometimes did. However, if those rages were "berserker," the common connotation of the word needs to be revised.

Such things as these, of course, are merely the little excesses of pepper, salt, and horse-radish sometimes to be found on an otherwise delectable dish. What is of far more importance, the narrative progresses smoothly, in a style that is at times sparkling, never dull, from which George Washington the man emerges in impressive and ever-increasing stature, until, when independence has at last been won, he stands head and shoulders above every other American, the incomparable leader for the next essential stage in the building of the nation. The profound admiration for Washington by both authors is implicit in nearly every page of the book, yet there is no undue hero worship. To the contrary, Washington is occasionally sharply criticized. The most notable of such criticisms are of some phases of his military strategy in the earlier years of the war. On that score this reviewer, whose ignorance of military strategy and tactics is fully equal to that of many of Washington's contemporary critics, saith neither yea nor nay. Nevertheless, he can not but call to mind the incident related by Professor William M. Sloan, the point of which was that the great Von Moltke took sharp issue with some of the critics of Washington's strategy.

Naturally the authors manifest a proneness to view men and measures through Washington's eyes and in consequence are not wholly unbiased toward those who in anywise come athwart Washington's views and purposes. Accordingly, some of these men may have received a severer drubbing at the hands of the authors than they deserve. The present writer is not, however, disposed to include in this latter class the snipers and plotters in and around Congress in the winter and spring of 1778. On the other hand, Jefferson does seem to have been handled a bit gently.

Most of the numerous notes of "exceptions" made in the course of reading this book may appropriately be passed over as the tithing of cummin. At one or two of them, however, the reviewer is tempted to point his finger. John Rutledge is inadvertently named (II, 234) as one of the Virginia delegates to the Constitutional Convention, whereas Edmund Randolph is meant. It is scarcely correct to say (II, 284) that Charles Thomson, in July, 1789, "coveted retirement." Actually, he had been endeavoring to escape being retired. Did Washington's death occur when the eighteenth century was "almost at an end" (II,

487)? There is a considerable school of contenders for such a conclusion; but this reviewer, with the courage of his convictions, has ever stoutly maintained that, as 99 years do not make a century, so 1799 years did not make eighteen centuries.

Touching the seven final chapters dealing with the presidential years and after, it may be contended that numerous phases of that period of Washington's career have been passed over all too briefly or have not been considered at all. The limitations of space may well have required a considerable degree of compression, but in any event it is to be borne in mind that the primary aim of the authors was a portrait of the living Washington amidst events, not a history of those events. Whatever the reasons, the excellent chapters on the closing years well compensate for many omissions. It is worth noting further that both Professor Stephenson and Professor Dunn have caught the "witchery" of the Virginia scene, have sensed the deep satisfactions of life at Mount Vernon that were so dear to Washington's heart and for which, throughout his long public career, he never ceased to yearn. This fine appreciation is manifest again and again throughout the narrative, and one superb passage in particular (p. 420) reveals Professor Dunn as possessed of a genuine poetic spirit.

It can not be maintained that this is the "definitive" life of Washington. Any biography of him that can justly be termed definitive is probably far in the future. Nevertheless, one who has read this book should be able to lay it down with a reasonably accurate knowledge of the life of Washington and a reasonably clear conception of his character. A protest, in a sense, at one and the same time against the dehumanized Washington of tradition and the overhumanized Washington of the school of "debunkers," it is an effective antidote to both those poisons. The Washington here revealed to us is a man whose dominating characteristics were common sense, sanity, judicial temperament, intellectual as well as physical courage, integrity of purpose and of conduct. The clarity of Washington's thinking seems never to have been muddled by any of the current political philosophies. His aims and purposes are everywhere plain to read. Secret springs, hidden motives, are probably less a part of his career than of any other American statesman. "When we are seeking for what some are pleased to call 'the secret' of Washington's greatness," says Professor Dunn, ". . . we need not look farther than that remarkable combination of qualities which makes the sum total of his character." To which this writer would like to add, that Washington is not a good subject for the common garden variety of psychoanalyst. Confronted by common sense and straightforwardness the psychoanalyst, seeking mystery where mystery there is none, becomes hopelessly woolgathered. Moreover, while Washington had a profound, an abiding faith in Providence, that faith never took form as "me and God." Washington's purposes were never bedeviled by any form or variety of Jehovah complex. In the winning of the war and in the winning of the national government as well, it is a matured judgment

of the years that without him both would have failed. Yet at no time did Washington vaunt himself as the indispensable man.

Those readers to whom footnotes on the textual page are anathema will be comforted to learn that such have been massed at the back of each volume. They will be well advised, however, to consult these notes occasionally, for they will find there some very interesting and very helpful discussions.

Carnegie Institution of Washington

EDMUND C. BURNETT

A Pioneer Merchant of St. Louis, 1810-1820: The Business Career of Christian Wilt. By Sister Marietta Jennings. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939. Pp. 219. Bibliography. \$2.50.)

The history of the frontier merchant, except in a few cases, has been too long neglected by the historian. At best, the history of mercantile businesses can be reconstructed only in part. To approach the subject on a complete and semistatistical plan is out of the question. Sister Marietta Jennings has been fortunate indeed in securing account books, letters, reports, and memoranda of a number of influential factors and merchants in the St. Louis area. Through the correspondence and records of Joseph Hertzog and Christian Wilt she has been able to give in great detail the history of one decade of frontier merchandising. She has also used other and associated records to good advantage.

Two factors of general interest in American history stand out in this study. The fur trade has received much attention in definitive works and in numerous essays, but, even with this mountain of published material already in existence, Sister Marietta makes a creditable contribution to the subject. Her treatment of the lead mining development and the lead trade during the War of 1812 is good. She has made a contribution to the history of the Ohio Valley trade which has hitherto been untouched.

There is a slight inconsistency in the spelling of Zadok Cramer's name on page 130 and in the bibliography. The author refers to him as "Cramers" in one instance and as "Cramer" in another. The title of this river guide is actually *The Navigator*. One other point might be made: the study could have been materially strengthened if at least one chapter could have been devoted specifically to the material presented on the final two pages. These, however, are slight matters. Sister Marietta has done a good piece of work, and she has utilized excellent materials. There is an extensive bibliography and an adequate index.

University of Kentucky

T. D. CLARK

The Course of American Democratic Thought: An Intellectual History Since 1815. By Ralph Henry Gabriel. (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1940. Pp. xii, 452. Bibliography. \$4.00.)

The course of American democratic thought is a large and somewhat intangible theme. By his subtitle, "An Intellectual History," the author has restricted his task. However, he treats the intellectuals as part of a social order of which

"democracy is a cultural trait." While the intellectuals are the spokesmen of society their views are the products of the prevailing "climate of opinion." The assumption of the similarity of views of the intellectuals with the prevailing "climate of opinion" may be a *non sequitur*, but it makes this kind of a study possible.

The work is divided chronologically into six parts which are joined by large twilights. Each part represents distinct intellectual characteristics and emphases. The author offers as the doctrines of our democratic faith: (1) a belief in fundamental law, (2) the free individual, (3) the mission of America, and (4) the doctrine of human progress. (It may be surprising to some readers that pre-Civil War Americans had forgotten the doctrine of equality.) In part one these doctrines are examined against the social and intellectual background of the Middle Period.

In part two the "fires of sectional controversy" are applied to the doctrines of the democratic faith. Calhoun quite logically receives special attention. His penetrating mind clearly sensed that the free individual asserted his liberty only when secure. Calhoun's early devotion to the national state rested upon the conviction that the Union offered the greatest measure of security to the people of his own section and state. Abolitionism endangered the security of the southern whites. When protective constitutional devices could not be adopted, secession seemed the best means for preserving the values of the dominant race.

In the struggle, 1861-1865, leaders of both sections posed as the defenders of the American democratic faith. Lincoln insisted that government by the will of the majority was on trial and that it was the mission of the United States to demonstrate its success. Davis quoted the Declaration of Independence to vindicate the right of revolution for the preservation of human rights.

"When Lee surrendered at Appomattox, slavery had been abolished and a civilization had been destroyed, but the American democratic faith remained unimpaired. It had, in fact, won a double triumph. It had, at the same time, conquered in battle and suffered martyrdom. . . . though the sentiment of nationalism in the old sense failed, the doctrine of the destiny of America to stand before the world as a witness for democratic liberty was unimpaired" (p. 119).

While the author has shown a sympathetic understanding of viewpoints of both sections, the imperfect application of the majority principle as revealed in the election of 1860 is conspicuously neglected (p. 111).

The last third of the nineteenth century wrought transitions in the character of American economic and social life to be rationalized and justified. Accumulation of fortunes brought a gospel of wealth, a religion of humanity, and the welfare state. "Since 1865 the United States has moved toward national collectivism. Its first manifestation was the protective tariff, the foundation of economic nationalism" (p. 414).

Economic and social reformers urged the use of the powers of government to shape the course of society. The twentieth century fixed its eye upon progress.

Progressivism and "making the world safe for democracy" were appropriate marching slogans. In the post-Versailles world collectivism and totalitarianism are waging open war upon democracy. They seem to be obliterating individualism within the nations and creating anarchy in the international order. Even in this country Thurman Arnold suggests that an "opportunistic governing class" whose actions are based upon "pragmatic expediency" should replace the old doctrines and principles (p. 381).

However much the reviewer may differ from the author relating to the church, saloon, and general store as farmers' social clubs, or the greater influence of the church in rural than in urban society, or the importance of folklore and symbols in American life, this is a work of great learning and scholarship. The book is stimulating throughout. The last part and especially the last chapter, "the essence of the American democratic faith," is a penetrating analysis. The domestic and the world problems are appropriately interrelated. The author well recognizes that the course of American thought is still on the downward slope of the future, and that the future holds many tantalizing judgments against those who have been so bold as to record their political thoughts.

University of Nebraska

J. L. SELLERS

Diplomacy and the Borderlands: The Adams-Onís Treaty of 1819. By Philip Coolidge Brooks. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1939. Pp. x, 262. Illustrations, bibliography, appendix, maps. \$2.50.)

While no historical investigation is ever definitive, the thoroughness with which Dr. Brooks has explored and presented the materials on the Adams-Onís treaty of 1819 comes close to that ideal of historians. Two introductory chapters give a perspective to the problem and should give a jolt to our historians who neglect events before 1800 beyond the Mississippi.

After a statement of the issues the author takes up the basic work of Pizarro (Chapters III-IV). He believes and doubtless correctly that the fountain of the ideas of the Spanish secretary was the memoir of Pichardo on the limits of Louisiana and Texas. From this source Heredia, the minister's assistant, developed Onís' basic instructions to exchange the Floridas for a boundary on the Mississippi and to prevent the United States from aiding the Spanish American insurgents. In Chapter V, devoted to Spain's appeal to the powers, Dr. Brooks provides enlightening data from which he concludes that Bagot's approach to the United States in 1818 was not intervention and that Russia exerted no pressure on Spain regarding the Pacific coast boundary.

In Chapter VI the outstanding feature is the heroic struggle Onís made to protect the western possessions. Dr. Brooks traces carefully the effects in Madrid and Washington of Jackson's invasion of the Floridas. He believes Adams' famous defense of the General was motivated only by "a sense of national pride and a desire to bolster his diplomatic strategy" (p. 150). With the Floridas

lost, Onís battled on. His later instructions permitted him to fall back to the Colorado in Texas to prevent a break in relations, the recognition of the insurgents, and an invasion of the Provincias Internas. The Spaniard successfully concealed this concession from Adams and ultimately secured the Sabine line and kept the far western boundary fully three hundred and sixty miles north of Santa Fé. To this achievement is to be added his success in relieving Spain of financial obligations arising from the Florida land grants. With the leading cards in Adams' hands, revolt in Spanish America, threat of recognition, and seizure of Florida, Dr. Brooks is fully justified in his estimate of Onís' abilities.

In the concluding chapter, "Ratification and Execution," the author makes clear that while later political capital was made over the loss of Texas, practically all political groups in 1819 welcomed the treaty. He deals a little too inadequately here with the reaction of the English to Spain's loss. Officially, as he points out, Castlereagh urged the Spanish government to ratify. But other British interests are left unclear, especially with regard to United States and English relations over Cuba; not much concern was felt over the English plantation islands, for as Ragatz has shown, these were declining in 1819. The acquisition of the Floridas was a major event in our historic rivalry with England in Latin America with which, too, the issuance of the Monroe Doctrine was closely related.

The thoroughgoing scholarship apparent in the extensive citations adds much material to a subject long studied. The new data, gathered principally in Spanish archives, are accounted for in a bibliography which includes all significant published materials on the subject. Two appendices contain the treaty itself and a reproduction of the Melish map, published in full here for the first time. Dr. Brooks makes many contributions to the borderland field, offers new and significant interpretations of Adams' actions, gives Onís the place he deserves, and fits the subject into an international frame of a breadth it has long deserved.

University of Alabama

ALFRED B. THOMAS

Freedom of Thought in the Old South. By Clement Eaton. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1940. Pp. xix, 343. Illustrations. \$3.00.)

Mr. Eaton's thesis is that freedom of thought in the Old South was narrowly circumscribed: slavery could not be discussed, college professors were under surveillance, and ministers of the gospel and public men generally had to be careful never to show symptoms of heterodoxy. However, the author makes little effort to maintain his theme in great portions of his book. He has interesting chapters on education, the enforcement of the laws restricting abolition activities, and other valuable phases of social history. Nevertheless, while much of this interesting material is contradictory to his thesis of southern intolerance, and even contradictory to the implication of the chapter titles, Mr. Eaton returns periodically to his thesis in a manner reminding one of the air compressor on a

streetcar, which breaks out every now and then, even when the car is sitting quietly on a sidetrack, and pumps furiously for no apparent reason.

The author contends that the rise of the common man to political power in the Jacksonian era and the accompanying loss of power and prestige of the old southern aristocracy were basic factors in the alleged decline of freedom of thought in the South. Nevertheless, he manages to place the blame upon the slavocracy because of its failure to discuss openly and help circulate the abolition propaganda literature. In examining the laws restricting abolitionist activities in the South, Mr. Eaton comes to the conclusion, contradictory to his theme, that "Southern laws curtailing freedom of discussion were seldom invoked"; that they were permitted to gather dust save in times of crises. "Otherwise persons of Southern birth might express antislavery opinion almost with impunity." Thus runs the entire book, filled with interesting but contradictory matter and conclusions.

In attempting to arrive at a conclusion with regard to intolerance in the South which has meaning, the author should have made himself familiar with comparative situations in other parts of the world, particularly in the North. The present world situation might have been brought to bear upon the problem of intolerance with great effect, for intolerance and restrictions upon freedom of thought imposed even by democratic states today cause all effort that the South made to curtail abolitionist activities within its borders seem the very essence of tolerance and liberalism. It did not seem to occur to Mr. Eaton that the abolitionists and their political allies were threatening the existence of the South as seriously as the Nazis threaten the existence of England and that their language was so violent, obscene, and insulting that even Dr. Goebels in all his flights has seldom equaled and never surpassed it. Under such circumstances the surprising thing is that so little was done by the South to defend its existence. As for religious intolerance and curtailment of academic freedom the author's theme is so poorly sustained by his evidence that little comment is necessary. It might be observed that in the matter of religious intolerance there is no record of witch or Quaker hangings in the South; nor did the great anti-Catholic crusade, which formed the backbone of the Know-Nothing movement in the North, ever gain much support in the South.

Vanderbilt University

FRANK L. OWSLEY

West Virginia: The Mountain State. By Charles Henry Ambler. (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1940. Pp. xviii, 660. Maps, illustrations, bibliography. \$4.00.)

The author's preface indicates that "the presence of new materials, mostly scholarly monographs," has necessitated the inclusion of new chapters as well as supplemental data; and that new maps and illustrations have also been added.

As a result this new volume "has been entirely rewritten" and is said to supersede the author's previously published *A History of West Virginia* (1933).

This statement is generally supported by an examination of the work, but the actual revision varies considerably. The topical outline, arrangement into chapters, and text of the first six chapters have been very slightly changed. A new chapter, "Indiana and Vandalia," reflects the contributions of Thomas P. Abernethy, Max Saville, and Shaw Livermore. Another new chapter on "Border Warfare" incorporates so much local coloring that the reader can almost hear the Indian war whoop and see the gore of dying Indians and frontiersmen. The Civil War period has been rearranged and rewritten, and in this the author's work on Governor Francis H. Pierpoint has made an important contribution. The three chapters which follow and which carry the narrative from 1876 to 1920 have been revised much less extensively. The last two chapters have been worked over to bring the story down to 1940.

Errors noted in the earlier edition have been corrected and the present text seems reasonably free from such slips. An illustration of how facts may assume an unwarranted importance when condensed into a brief narrative is noted in the mention (p. 543) of the establishment of a school of Physical Education at West Virginia University in 1937. At that time an already highly developed department, which had been founded some years previous, was called a school rather than a department. One might suggest that since the proportion of college and university students in the State University is less than 40 per cent of the total for the state that more space should be devoted to the other institutions of higher learning. Marshall College, for instance, is nearly as large as the University, but it receives only scant mention. It also seems that the industrial development of the state, the exploitation of natural resources, and the consequent changes in the life of the people should receive greater attention from the historian than they have. Few facts in the history of the state are as significant as the industrialization and exploitation of large areas of a formerly retarded frontier agricultural region, and this the author seems to see "through a glass, darkly," or to recognize reluctantly. This process has influenced the state's politics, the distribution of its population, its educational system, and indeed its entire life. The present edition devotes more space to this subject than the first, but further emphasis would not be incorrect.

The author writes with an excellent prose style and generally with a confident grasp of his material. His work continues to integrate skillfully the various phases of human activity, and the social phase of West Virginia's history continues to receive marked emphasis. Indeed, this work represents a thorough revision of an already outstanding state history.

Louisiana State University

JOHN D. BARNHART

Foreigners in the Confederacy. By Ella Lonn. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1940. Pp. xi, 566. Illustrations, appendices, bibliography. \$5.00.)

Probably no impression affords more satisfaction to the average Southerner than that of the Anglo-Saxon purity of the Old South. Roseate traditionalists have dwelt at length on the native character of Southerners as opposed to the heterogeneous foreignness of the "Yankees"; they have derived particular satisfaction from the conviction that the cause of southern independence was supported by a populace of lily-white Anglo-Saxon purity and was overwhelmed by Yankee armies made up largely of old world immigrants and hirelings.

To those who have held such views Ella Lonn's *Foreigners in the Confederacy* will bring a considerable jolt. While Dr. Lonn readily admits that only 4 or 5 per cent of the white population of the eleven Confederate states were foreign born, she draws a picture, on the basis of distribution, which effectively gives the lie to the traditional concept of a South homogeneous from the standpoint of nationality. In three Texas counties, for instance, over three fourths of the population was German in 1860; and in the state as a whole—"one of the most German states of the entire Union"—no less than one fifth of the people were of German blood. In certain portions of Richmond, Virginia, the population was so overwhelmingly German as to support two German newspapers and several churches; in Richmond, also, national events in the history of the "Fatherland" were regularly celebrated. Scattered throughout the South in 1860 there were 73,579 Germans. But the number of Irishmen was even greater; the sons of Erin ran well up into the eighty thousands. Scattered along down the line were thousands of people born in England, in France, in Scotland, in Mexico, in Switzerland, and in other foreign countries. The gadabout of 1860 would expect to see many foreigners in such cities as Mobile, New Orleans, and San Antonio, but it may be surprising to the reader of today to learn that every third or fourth person (if perfectly distributed) seen on the streets of Memphis in that year was a foreigner. According to the author the presence of 4,100 Irishmen and 1,400 Germans swelled the percentage of foreigners in the Bluff City to 30.66 per cent!

Vanishes, too, under the spell of Dr. Lonn's studious and relentless pen, the picture of a pure native Confederate army. Tedious survey of the muster rolls of 800 companies and of the individual records of nearly 100,000 soldiers—and those records are scattered throughout the South from The National Archives in Washington to the rich depositories of the University of Texas at Austin—give the weight of high authority to the author's depiction of the Confederate army as a cosmopolitan body. Entire regiments and brigades were made up of foreigners. One of the most famous alien organizations, the "European Brigade" of Louisiana, had the following composition: 2,500 Frenchmen; 800 Spaniards; 500 Italians; 400 Germans, Dutch, and Scandinavians; and 500 Swiss, Belgians,

English, Slavonians, and others. Every southern state had its admixture of foreign soldiers. This fact is well illustrated by the names of various units chosen at random: the "Emerald Guards" and the "French Guards" from Alabama; the "Irish Brigade" from Louisiana; the "German Rifles" from Virginia; and the "German Volunteers" from South Carolina. Texas had a Polish company; Company H of the Tenth Tennessee was an Irish outfit calling itself "Sons of Erin"; and the famous "Washington Rifles" of Memphis was composed entirely of foreign-born citizens.

While it is impossible to estimate with any degree of accuracy the ratio of foreigners to natives in the entire Confederate army, the conclusion is drawn that "there were tens of thousands of foreign-born in the ranks," and "many more tens of thousands in the reserve home guards."

The Irish constituted by far the largest proportion of the foreign element in the "Rebel" army. They were generally recognized as the best fighters and the least amenable to discipline. Their impudence toward new officers was notorious. A lieutenant just arrived to take charge of a Louisiana unit overheard this remark: "Oh, Mike, look at that new leftenant! Don't he think he is purty wid the new chicken guts (narrow gold lace; insignia of rank) on his arms. Look at his strut."

The Germans also constituted a considerable portion of the foreign element in the Confederate army; likewise the French and English. Other nationalities appear frequently on the muster rolls. In fact, "there was hardly a country or clime of the earth, even a remote and small portion of the globe, but had its representatives." The company that had not one or more foreigners in its ranks was an exception.

Although foreigners were frequently distinguished for their bravery, they were not consistently valorous in their support of the southern cause. The Mexicans had the reputation of being notoriously poor fighters. The Germans, because of a prevalent antipathy to slavery, were frequently distrusted. Many foreigners were opposed to the war; others were lukewarm in their attitude; hundreds deserted. Whether good or bad fighters, the foreigners gave variety and flavor to the Confederate army. Their musical ability was much appreciated. Frequently they sang songs in their native tongue after the fall of night. Their brogue afforded untold merriment to native Southerners. Profane perversions such as "sacredam" were particularly amusing.

While the Confederate government spared no exertion to get foreigners into service—recruiters were sent abroad and into military prisons where foreign contingents of Federals were held—the nonnative troops were frequently the victims of discrimination. Promotion was slower and more difficult for foreigners than for natives. Only two attained the rank of major general—Patrick Cleburne and Prince de Polignac. Heros von Borcke, though highly esteemed by Stuart and recommended by that gallant officer as his successor when mortally wounded, advanced no higher than a colonelcy.

Dr. Lonn does not confine herself to the military activities of foreigners. She gives a detailed account of their doings in every walk of life. In fact, the only criticism that this reviewer has to offer of her excellent study is the fact that she tells too much. Her piling up of detail makes the narrative unduly heavy. At times the book's encyclopedic organization and style do great injustice to the drama and color enclosed in its covers.

The appendices, footnotes, and bibliography pay high tribute to Dr. Lonn for tirelessness of research and thoroughness of scholarship. Nothing short of amazing is the mass of material—much of it scattered and fragmentary—that passed under her scrutiny. This book is a worthy companion of her previous volumes dealing with the period of war and reconstruction. Certainly no one, whether professional historian or layman, can claim to be an authority on the Confederacy without perusing *Foreigners in the Confederacy*.

University of Mississippi

B. I. WILEY

Red Shirts Remembered: Southern Brigadiers of the Reconstruction Period. By William Arthur Sheppard. (Spartanburg, S. C.: The Author, 1940. Pp. xii, 339. Illustrations, bibliography. \$3.00.)

To the patriotic South Carolinian the crowning infamy of his state's history was Reconstruction, the time when barriers of caste were sufficiently in abeyance to allow black men to vote along with white men, and mulatto women to dance with white Carpetbaggers. The Preston-Hampton mansion, said Cole L. Blease recently, should not be made into a historic shrine because its halls were once polluted by a Scalawag governor banqueting with yellow wenches. Mr. Sheppard, who by profession is a linotypist, in his story of Reconstruction accepts this viewpoint without question, depending for details largely on the writings of the many others of his way of thinking. He has perhaps never dreamed that the behavior of the Reconstructionists may have some logical defense or that he himself is under any obligation to justify the scheme of race relations he so fervently endorses. In type set with his own hands he tells vividly a folk narrative of race prejudice. He does not attempt to be critical; his tale is designed to adorn a moral: a warning to young South Carolinians that the infamy of Negro rule should never be allowed to return. The most glorious event of all naturally was the redemption of the state from radical rule in 1876.

The most important part of the book is concerned with the selection of a hero of this glorious event. According to other South Carolina writers this hero was Wade Hampton. Mr. Sheppard says it was Martin W. Gary, the "Bald Eagle" of Edgefield who was the precursor of Ben Tillman. Indeed, the book is offered as a substitute for the authorized biography of Gary which was suppressed by the Gary family because its scholarly writer cherishes certain reservations concerning the "Bald Eagle's" importance and integrity. Mr. Sheppard has no such reservations. Yet the fact that there is overemphasis makes possible the first ex-

tended proof that Gary was a significant person. From Mr. Sheppard's pages he emerges a half romantic, half diabolic figure who by word and action drove home an important lesson: that it was both practical and profitable to create in an important southern commonwealth a political society in which the Negro is thoroughly suppressed. This is the reality which South Carolina so fondly cherishes today. Gary was its creator.

More interesting than Mr. Sheppard's eulogy of Gary is his damnation of Hampton. With a credulity which at times becomes vicious, the author accepts every unflattering tale uttered about the man South Carolinians are supposed to revere. He asserts that the Hamptons acquired their wealth through the Yazoo land frauds; that Hampton himself was an unscrupulous bankrupt; that in 1876 he attempted to betray the national Democratic ticket in return for Republican support of his candidacy for the governorship; that he was a greedy office seeker and nepotist who frustrated Gary's legitimate ambitions. And worst of all, this supposed villain pardoned Carpetbaggers, dined with Negro educators, and appointed a colored man an officer of the militia. There are rumors that Mr. Sheppard had available a list of Hampton's supposed illegitimate children but that interesting document does not appear in the book. There is no recognition of Hampton the warrior who patriotically gave all for a beloved state and with wisdom and moderation led its recovery from the consequences of defeat.

State Teachers College, Farmville, Virginia

FRANCIS B. SIMKINS

The Southern Poor-White: from Lubberland to Tobacco Road. By Shields McIlwaine. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939. Pp. xxv, 274. Bibliography, illustrations. \$2.50.)

"It has taken two hundred years of writing about the poor-white"—in colorful fiction which Mr. McIlwaine explores—"to produce Jeeter Lester . . . a parable of the poverty crop." Every frontier and backwoods settlement in America had its share of lazy, ignorant, desperately poor folk who outraged the Ten Commandments. The South—like South Africa and for similar reasons—segregated and perpetuated them as a class. Their deviant folkways would have been explosive grist to the writer's mill in a society which idealized white supremacy, but romantic storytellers who sat upon the plantation porch seldom thought to compare crackers with darkies. Caricature was their artifice, humor and sentiment its saving graces. The lure of the picturesque made local color a school for natural color. But it required the working together of social ferment and literary naturalism in the present day to teach writers the truth about white trash and to persuade readers to believe it.

Mr. McIlwaine's critical study of this literature, written *con amore* and handsomely printed, is a happy union of literary and social history, as indispensable as Den Hollander's work for understanding the poor white. Clearly our knowledge and opinions of this cultural laggard come from imaginative writers rather

than historians, and McIlwaine has appraised the contributions of about fifty authors to this literary tradition. Especially notable are his estimates of DeForest, Harris, Kate Chopin, Alice French, Faulkner, and Caldwell, and his emphasis upon the social circumstances of poor whites in fact as in fiction.

This study is too brief to escape certain limitations. The author chose not to consider highlanders, cotton mill "lint-heads," or the writings of Mark Twain. Some readers will think his enthusiasm for Erskine Caldwell excessive, and others may resent his measuring romantic fiction by the yardstick of naturalism. He missed an opportunity to extend his analysis to song and ballad as well as story, and to compare, as with Cable and Harris, the literary treatment of poor white and black.

For the thought and emotion of inarticulate people who have left no documents of their own, the historian can hardly rely on fiction without correcting the bias of authorship. This Mr. McIlwaine does very well for some, particularly Colonel Byrd, the abolitionists, and Harris, but not for others. To cite three cases, what T. B. Thorpe observed of poor whites in politics must be discounted for his Whiggery, and the biographies of Longstreet by Wade and of Kate Chopin by Rankin offer better perspectives of these writers than McIlwaine provides.

If literary history is also to be social, it is not enough to examine what was written and who wrote it against their social backgrounds. Writer, reader, and story are but the triangular intersection of social forces, and each must be studied for its reflection of dominant institutions and ideas. Mr. McIlwaine took a literary tradition for his subject rather than the sociology of this literature. Otherwise there would be more economics and less psychology in his criticism. If, to mention briefly some questions left unanswered, he could explain why these stories were written and read, what social purposes were served by humor or realism, and why the poor white was kept at as great an intellectual as social distance, historians would be still further indebted to him.

Princeton University

ROGER W. SHUGG

Haiti and the United States. By Ludwell Lee Montague. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1940. Pp. xiv, 308. Bibliography, maps. \$3.00.)

Mr. Montague has produced an excellent piece of work. The present belated and frantic drumbeating for the purpose of creating "solidarity among the Americas" will doubtless have as a by-product many histories of the Latin republics. If the volumes in this impending bibliographical avalanche measure up to the standard set in this work, we may account ourselves fortunate.

The strategic position of Haiti has caused it to be subject to pressure from many quarters. Great Britain, France, and the United States all desired to control Haiti which dominates an important passage to the Caribbean. During the ante-bellum period our foreign policy in regard to Haiti was hampered by the

anxiety of color-conscious Southerners in Washington. The South, concerned with the preservation of Negro servitude, regarded the very shaky Haitian republic as an affront to its theories of racial superiority. Hence, the struggle in the Senate over the recognition of Haiti is an important phase of our political history. Mr. Montague handles this material in a manner that should gratify the historian interested in the political problems of the United States.

The later history of Haitian-American relations with its motif of attempted annexation, debt refunding, and customs receivership is treated with refreshing thoroughness.

In addition to impeccable scholarship the volume profits by a vigorous and entirely readable style.

Louisiana State University

EDWARD R. OTT

Race Relations and the Race Problem: A Definition and an Analysis. Edited by Edgar T. Thompson. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1939. Pp. xv, 338. \$3.50.)

In the twentieth century world the role of race is a heavy one. For better or worse this concept is at the very core of the titanic struggles and conflicts of our day. Aided by ten other prominent scholars the editor of this timely volume of essays has assembled and co-ordinated much information of value to those who desire an understanding of the questions of race and the relations between the races.

Following an introductory statement by the editor, Chicago's eminent student of the problems of race and culture, Robert E. Park, sets the stage for what is to follow in his excellent essay entitled "The Nature of Race Relations." This essay might well be required reading for every student in the social sciences.

In the second essay Edward B. Reuter analyzes competition and the racial division of labor. In the caste system, according to Reuter, the Negro actually has a competitive advantage over lower class whites, and the eventual result will be a society in which Negroes constitute an intermediate caste between two great classes of whites.

S. J. Holmes's essay bears directly upon the great boggy that haunts so many, i.e., the supposition that Negroes are rapidly outbreeding the whites and that soon the American continent will be overrun with great hordes of black folk. Holmes's careful analysis reveals of course that this is merely a popular misconception and that the racial balance of births and deaths is favorable to the white race. However, he indicates reason for belief that the relative position of the Negroes may be improving.

Rupert B. Vance has drawn upon his rich background and produced a very informing essay on racial competition for land. Guy B. Johnson has contributed an excellent description of social or cultural patterning in the conflicts between

the races. Lewis C. Copeland has developed the thesis that the Negro is conceived of by whites as a contrast conception, or an individual possessed of mental and physical traits diametrically opposite those of white people.

One of the most meaty and most penetrating essays in the book is that by the editor, entitled "The Plantation: The Physical Basis of Traditional Race Relations." With much justification he takes the position that the plantation system is the basic social fact from which all distinctively southern institutions have been derived. This plantation system is the physical unit or mold in which have been cast the inevitable relations between the races.

"A Comparative Study of American Caste" by W. Lloyd Warner and Allison Davis is largely a theoretical exposition of the connotations of such concepts as class, caste, status, rank, etc. These are basic, and deserve the careful exposition they have been accorded. But they are and should be much more relative than these authors have allowed. Holding with strictness to their definitions would eliminate most actual societies from the categories of either class or caste.

Everett V. Stonequist in the essay entitled "Race Mixture and the Mulatto" has presented a stimulating rehearsal of the role played by the mulatto in the relations between Negroes and whites.

The final chapter on "Race Relations and Social Change" is by Charles S. Johnson. In a convincing manner he demonstrates that there is very little of the racial element in what we generally refer to as race relations. This is a point that was generally overlooked by the other collaborators. Johnson has also elaborated his favorite thesis that "those race problems which are the structure of present-day race relations are an incident of world economics, and the race relations a code of behavior developing out of the contact and conflict of economic interests of the groups identified as racially different" (p. 272). Factors contributing most to changes in present-day Negro-white relations are two: the elevation of Negro cultural standards; and the new technology with its disrupting effects.

Louisiana State University

T. LYNN SMITH

Historical News and Notices

The attention of members of the Association is called to the sixth annual meeting which will convene in Charleston, South Carolina, November 7-9, with headquarters in the Francis Marion Hotel. J. H. Easterby of the College of Charleston and O. C. Skipper of The Citadel are cochairmen of the committee on local arrangements. The program of the meeting was announced in the August issue of the *Journal*.

PERSONAL

C. Vann Woodward has been called to the Nathaniel Wright Stephenson chair of history and biography at Scripps College, with the rank of associate professor. The appointment is for a three-year period. Professor Woodward will be on leave of absence during the second semester of the current year for research on a fellowship from the Rosenwald Fund.

David A. Lockmiller is the new head of the department of history and political science at State College, North Carolina. He spent a part of the summer in Washington and Chicago working on a biography of General Enoch H. Crowder.

At the University of North Carolina Carl Pegg has been promoted associate professor of history and George E. Mowry assistant professor. Robert Ernst of Columbia University has been appointed instructor to replace J. Carlyle Sitterson who is on leave during the current year. Professor Sitterson is engaged in research on the sugar industry in the South.

Two new appointments have been made to the department of history at Louisiana State University, effective in September: Walter C. Richardson, formerly of Ohio University, as assistant professor of English history to replace Eugene M. Violette who died last March; and Harris G. Warren, formerly of MacMurray College, Jacksonville, Illinois, as assistant professor of Latin-American history.

At the University of South Carolina Arney R. Childs and Robert H. Wicnefeld have been promoted to full professorships; Archibald R. Lewis has been appointed adjunct professor of history.

Other new appointments that have been called to the *Journal's* attention: Fred H. Harrington, formerly of the University of Wisconsin, as professor of

history and head of the department of history and political science at the University of Arkansas; Wesley M. Gewehr of American University as head of the department of history at the University of Maryland; Willard H. Humbert of the University of Delaware as instructor in political science and history at Hollins College; Judson C. Ward of Georgia State College as instructor in history and political science at Birmingham-Southern College; James H. Rodabaugh as research assistant of the Hayes Memorial, Fremont, Ohio; Jack Allen as a member of the history staff at the Eastern Kentucky State Teachers College; Mrs. Helen D. Bullock, formerly archivist of the Williamsburg Restoration, as assistant state supervisor of the Historical Records Survey in Virginia; Miss Lois Murphree as librarian of the Mississippi department of archives and history; J. Mauldin Lesesne as associate professor of history at Erskine College.

Promotions in the historical profession not indicated above include: G. Leighton LaFuze to be head of the new department of the social sciences at John B. Stetson University; Charles G. Summersell to be assistant professor of history at the University of Alabama; Miss Charlotte Capers to be research and editorial assistant in the Mississippi department of archives and history.

Among historical activities the following may be noted: Jonathan T. Dorris of Eastern Kentucky State Teachers College spent a portion of the summer in research at Durham, Chapel Hill, and Raleigh on his study of "Pardon and Amnesty during the Civil War and Reconstruction"; Austin L. Venable of the University of Arkansas did research during the summer on the life of William L. Yancey under a grant from the University's Research Committee; the *Memoirs of Mrs. Charles Ellet*, wife and mother of prominent Civil War naval constructors, has been edited by Herbert P. Gambrell of Southern Methodist University and published by the Bucks County Historical Society, Doylestown, Pennsylvania.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL

Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated, has announced the publication of the initial volume of the *Williamsburg Restoration Historical Studies* in June, 1940. This volume is a reprint of *The Present State of Virginia, and the College* written by Henry Hartwell, James Blair, and Edward Chilton, first published in London in 1727, and now edited with a critical introduction by Hunter Dickinson Farish. Mr. Farish, who is director of the department of research and record of Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated, is general editor of the series. Assisting him is an advisory committee which includes Thomas J. Wertenbaker, chairman, Princeton University; Charles M. Andrews, Yale University; Virginius Dabney, editor of the *Richmond Times-Dispatch*; Samuel E. Morison, Harvard University; Richard Lee Morton, College of William and Mary; Arthur M. Schlesinger, Harvard University; and Earl G. Swem, College of William and Mary.

Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated, has arranged to grant annually a limited number of fellowships to encourage studies of special merit in the field of Virginia history. These fellowships are awarded through the department of research and record of this institution at Williamsburg, Virginia. The fellowships are also designed to promote the publication of studies in this field. The awards are made upon the condition that the recipients shall submit the completed product of their researches for publication in the *Williamsburg Restoration Historical Studies*. The scope of the series has been defined as the history of Williamsburg and the origin, development, and expansion of the civilization of which this city was the center.

For the year 1940 fellowships have been awarded to the seven persons listed, with the studies upon which they are engaged: Manning C. Voorhis, University of Virginia, "The Land Grant Policy of Colonial Virginia"; Wirt Armistead Cate, Nashville, Tennessee, "The Founding and Early Cultural Development of Richmond—A Study in Social Origins"; Arthur Pierce Middleton, Harvard University, "A Maritime History of the Chesapeake Bay Region"; Samuel R. Mohler, University of Chicago, "The Life and Work of Commissary James Blair"; Charles G. Gordon Moss, Martha Washington College, "The Eighteenth Century Virginia Plantation System"; George H. Bost, University of Chicago, "Samuel Davies and Eighteenth Century Colonial Preaching"; Courtlandt Canby, Harvard University, "Literary Culture of Virginia, 1740-1776."

Candidates for these fellowships during 1941 must have their applications on file not later than March 1, 1941. Requests for application forms, bulletins, or other information should be addressed to Hunter D. Farish, director, department of research and record, Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated, Williamsburg, Virginia.

Among recent acquisitions of the Southern Historical Collection of the University of North Carolina are the following: Important additions to the Arnold-Appleton, Alexander-Hillhouse, Caffery, Cheves-Wagner, Gwyn, Hentz (including a diary of Caroline Lee Hentz, the novelist), Jackson-Prince, Lenoir, Mrs. Philip Phillips, and Peter E. Smith collections; papers of Clifford Anderson (1833-1899), Confederate soldier, member of the Confederate Congress, and attorney general of Georgia; typed copies of war letters of General John Bratton, C. S. A. (1831-1898), of South Carolina; papers of General Henry L. Benning, C. S. A. (1814-1875), associate justice of the Supreme Court of Georgia and member of the secession convention, and of his father-in-law, Seaborn Jones (1788-1874), eminent lawyer and solicitor general of Georgia; papers of the Brownrigg family of North Carolina, including diaries and letter books; two collections of papers of the Barron family of Virginia, eminent in American naval history, with letters, papers, diaries, logbooks, farm journals, and scrapbooks of Captain Samuel Barron, U. S. N. (1765-1810), of Captain

James Barron, U. S. N. (1769-1851), and of Captain Samuel Barron, U. S. N. and C. S. N. (1809-1888); a large collection of letters and papers of Mrs. Nellie Peters Black, distinguished woman of Georgia; 26 volumes of the diary of John Houston Bills of Tennessee, covering the period from 1843 to 1871; a diary and numerous scrapbooks of Rev. Joseph B. Cottrell (1829-1895) of Georgia, Alabama, and Florida; 48 volumes of the diary of Major Henry Chambers of Chattanooga, Tennessee; a large collection of plantation and other business papers of Farish Carter (1779-1861), noted agriculturist of Baldwin County, Georgia; the plantation diary of Dr. Louis M. de Saussure (1835-1863) of South Carolina; the Civil War diary of Joseph Pryor Fuller (1841-1918) of Columbus, Georgia; a collection of papers of Joseph S. Fowler (1820-1902), United States senator from Tennessee; a collection of Civil War papers of William Lucius Faison of North Carolina; a large collection of the papers and letters of the Gordon family of Savannah, Georgia, including the diary of William W. Gordon (1834-1912), captain, C. S. A., and brigadier general, U. S. A., and member of the Porto Rican Evacuation Commission; the Civil War letters of Captain Cadwallader Jones Iredell, C. S. A., of North Carolina; the Key-Lenoir Papers, containing papers of David M. Key (1824-1900), chancellor of Tennessee, lieutenant colonel, C. S. A., member of the constitutional convention of 1870, United States senator, postmaster general under President Hayes, and United States district judge, and numerous letters of the Lenoir and Chambers families, with farm records and other manuscript volumes; the Kerr Papers, consisting of letters and other documents of the family of Washington C. Kerr (1827-1885), university professor, Confederate soldier, and state geologist of North Carolina; typed copies of a number of letters of Justice L. Q. C. Lamar; papers of the McBee family of North Carolina; the McBryde Papers, composed of important correspondence of John McLaren McBryde (1841-1923), professor in the Universities of Tennessee and South Carolina, president of Virginia Polytechnic Institute, distinguished agricultural scientist, and of John M. McBryde, Jr. (1870-), university professor and writer; the diary and autobiography of Stephen R. Mallory (1813-1873), United States senator and Confederate secretary of the navy; numerous papers and manuscript volumes of Stephen Moore of North Carolina; several letters of Mrs. Phoebe Pember (1823-1913), head of the Chimborazo Hospital in Richmond during the Civil War; microfilmed copies of important letters of John Randolph of Roanoke; a large collection of the papers of Elmer Roberts (1863-1937), of Indiana and Florida, noted foreign and war correspondent; the private papers of Nicholas P. Trist, diplomat (1800-1874), and other members of his family; the diary of Thomas Wilson (1797-1876) of Orange County, North Carolina; papers of Maunsell White of Louisiana; the Richard Woolfolk Waldrop Papers, including war letters and diary of Richard W. Waldrop (1839-1918) of Norfolk, Virginia, and the war diary of John Waldrop (1845-1891) of Richmond, Virginia; papers, letters, and

diary of Rev. James Merrill Williams (1842-1895) of Maryland and Massachusetts; war letters of George Whitaker Wills, C. S. A., of North Carolina.

The Virginia Historical Society has recently acquired a small collection of letters written by John Randolph of Roanoke; three collections of papers relating to the Dabney, Morton, and Grinnan families; and the Miley Collection of Confederate portraits, embracing many colored photographs (the first to be made in color) and thousands of plates.

Assessment records from nearly all of the counties in Kentucky, totalling approximately 800 volumes, have been added to the University of Kentucky Library.

The Dallas Historical Society has recently received a collection of valuable papers from Mrs. Garrett, wife of the late Bishop Alexander C. Garrett of Dallas. Many of these papers deal with the Bishop's life while in his native Canada.

Further additions have been made to the collection of papers given to the University of Arkansas Library by former Governor Charles H. Brough.

Students of southern history will doubtless be interested in the Shomburg Collection of the New York Public Library, housed at its 135th Street Branch. It is one of the largest collections relating to Negro life and history, containing some 3,000 manuscripts, 10,000 books, 2,000 etchings, and several thousand pamphlets. The collection was assembled by Arthur A. Shomburg, of Negro descent and Puerto Rican birth. It includes material on the Negro in the United States, Africa, the West Indies, Brazil, and other South American countries; the Haitian collection is particularly significant. Shomburg served as curator of the collection until his death in 1938. He was succeeded by L. D. Reddick, formerly of Dillard University, New Orleans.

Early Kentucky Distillers, 1783-1800 (Louisville: The Standard Printing Company, Inc., 1940, pp. xiv, 63, bibliography), by Willard Rouse Jillson, presents the economic plight of the corn growers in the Bluegrass region, distillers' opposition to the enforcement of the excise tax, conventions of protesting distillers at Lexington in 1792 and 1793, and the disrepute in which revenue agents were held. Mr. Jillson has included in his booklet considerable source material, much of it quoted from the *Kentucky Gazette*. Perhaps the most valuable part of the study is a list of 177 early distillers involved in "Whiskey Cases" that came before Judge Harry Innes' court at Frankfort in 1798. A table lists the county in which each lived, the "earliest distilling data" in each case, and the amount of the judgment handed down, which was usually one half of the total due the government.

The Old Presbyterian Meeting House at Alexandria, Virginia, 1774-1874

(Richmond: The William Byrd Press, Inc., 1940, pp. ix, 81, illustrations, appendices, bibliography, \$1.50), by William Buckner McGroarty, reviews briefly the beginnings of Presbyterianism in Virginia and at Alexandria, reproduces Dr. James Muir's "History of the Presbyterian Church at Alexandria, from its commencement in 1772 until the present date A. D. 1794," and presents, without much attention to chronology, some of the salient facts in the church's history until the end of the third quarter of the nineteenth century. A biographical chapter is devoted mainly to Dr. Muir, pastor of the church from 1789 to 1820.

Aaron Lopez and Judah Touro: A Refugee and a Son of a Refugee (New York: Behrman's Jewish Book House, 1939, pp. xii, 118, illustrations, \$1.50), by Morris A. Gutstein, distributes space about equally between two Jewish merchants whose names are significant in the annals of Newport, Rhode Island, and New Orleans. Lopez (1731-1782) settled in Newport in 1752. He manufactured spermaceti products, engaged in coastwise shipping from Boston to Charleston, imported English hardware and dry goods, and, when the Revolution ruined his English trade, recouped his fortune in traffic with the West Indies. Touro (1775-1854), son of a Newport rabbi, migrated to New Orleans in 1802 and became one of the city's wealthy merchants and philanthropists, founding there, among other things, the first free public library and the Touro Infirmary.

Guide to the Material in the National Archives (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1940, pp. xviii, 303), supersedes the original guide published in 1938 as an appendix to the Archivist's *Third Annual Report*. The present volume describes material received to the end of 1939, amounting to approximately 320,000 linear feet. As "The task of organizing, inventorying, classifying, and cataloging these records is still incomplete," the revised guide is not paraded as a definitive one. Materials entered in the main part of the guide are organized under four governmental agencies—"the Congress, the executive departments, the independent agencies, and the judiciary." Then follows a section on "Gift Motion Pictures and Sound Recordings," and finally an appendix which lists very briefly certain "complex or disarranged record groups."

The Works of James D. B. De Bow: A Bibliography of De Bow's Review, with a Check List of His Miscellaneous Writings, Including Contributions to Periodicals and a List of References Relating to James D. B. De Bow (Hattiesburg, Miss.: The Book Farm, 1940, pp. 36, \$2.50), by James A. McMillen, appears as *Heartman's Historical Series No. 52*. The first section considers the *Review* bibliographically, with a collation of each volume. De Bow's contributions to the *Southern Quarterly Review* and to *De Bow's Review* are then listed chronologically. As several articles in the latter were unsigned, Mr. McMillen has made a commendable contribution in identifying the authorship. Other periodicals published by De Bow are listed, and his Seventh Census publications are

described. There is a bibliography of references on De Bow and his *Review*, and a brief chronological biography of the man.

A few sections of *A Preliminary Bibliography of the American Fur Trade* (St. Louis: United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Jefferson National Expansion Memorial, 1939, pp. 191), a mimeographed compilation by Stuart Cuthbertson and John C. Ewers, may be of interest to readers of the *Journal*: "The Fur Trade of Virginia and Maryland"; "The Peltry Trade of the Carolinas and the Southeast"; "The Fur Trade of the Mississippi Valley"; and "The Fur Trade of the Arkansas and the Southwest."

ARTICLES ON THE STATES OF THE UPPER SOUTH

- "George Beck, An Early Baltimore Landscape Painter," by J. Hall Pleasants, in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* (September).
- "Presbyterians of Old Baltimore," by John H. Gardner, Jr., *ibid.*
- "The Life of Richard Malcolm Johnston in Maryland, 1867-1898," continued, by Francis T. Long, *ibid.*
- "The Log of the *Rossie*: a Footnote to *Men of Marque*," by John P. Cranwell and William B. Crane, *ibid.*
- "Colonel Claudius Crozet," by William Couper, in *West Virginia History* (July).
- "Some West Virginia Contacts with John James Audubon," by Betty Cook, *ibid.*
- "Buckingham Female Collegiate Institute," II, by William Shepard, in the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* (July).
- "Washington West of the Blue Ridge," by John W. Wayland, in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* (July).
- "'Poplar Vale,'" by Edward L. Ryan, *ibid.*
- "The Affair of the Pistole Fee, Virginia, 1752-55," by Glenn C. Smith, *ibid.*
- "New Light on George Washington's Ancestors," by T. Pope, in *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine* (July).
- "William Byrd of Westover, An American Pepys," by Louis B. Wright and Marion Tinling, in the *South Atlantic Quarterly* (July).
- "Enrollment Records of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians," by Gaston Litton, in the *North Carolina Historical Review* (July).
- "The Solid South?" by Gilbert E. Govan, in the East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications* (1940).
- "Early Baptist Missionary Work Among the Cherokees," by James W. Moffitt, *ibid.*
- "Brigadier-General Nathaniel Taylor," by Samuel C. Williams, *ibid.*
- "Early Experiments with Prison Labor in Tennessee," by Charles P. White, *ibid.*
- "Andrew Johnson as a Member of the Committee on the Conduct of the War," by Harry Williams, *ibid.*
- "Branch Banking in Tennessee Since the Civil War," by Claude A. Campbell, *ibid.*

- "Brief History of the Shaker Colony at South Union, Kentucky," by Elizabeth Coombs, in the *Filson Club History Quarterly* (July).
- "Kentucky Privateers in California," by Benjamin F. Gilbert, in the *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* (July).
- "The History of Fort Osage," by Kate L. Gregg, in the *Missouri Historical Review* (July).
- "Missouri Avenue and the Missouri State Lottery," by Samuel W. Ravenal, *ibid.*
- "Dennis T. Flynn," by Victor Murdock, in the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* (June).
- "William Benjamin Johnson," by Clarence B. Douglas, *ibid.*
- "Richard Briggs Quinn," by Elsie Cady Gleason, *ibid.*
- "The Civil War in the Indian Territory, 1861," continued, by Dean Trickett, *ibid.*
- "Establishment of 'Old' Miller County, Arkansas Territory," by Rex W. Strickland, *ibid.*
- "The Establishment of the Dawes Commission for Indian Territory," by Loren N. Brown, *ibid.*
- "Mrs. Laura E. Harsha," by Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *ibid.*
- "Early Days in Kingfisher County," by Robert Hamilton, *ibid.*

DOCUMENTS AND COMPILATIONS ON THE STATES OF THE UPPER SOUTH

- "Baltimore as Seen by Moreau de Saint-Méry in 1794," translated and edited by Fillmore Norfleet, in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* (September).
- "First Presbyterian Church [Baltimore] Membership, 1766-1783," compiled by John H. Gardner, Jr., *ibid.*
- "Buchanan Family Reminiscences," contributed by Amy Hutton, *ibid.*
- "The Memorandum of William Whitteker," II, edited by Elizabeth Cometti, in *West Virginia History* (July).
- "West Virginians in the American Revolution," IV, assembled and edited by Ross B. Johnston, *ibid.*
- "The Hebron Church Birth Register," II, edited by Arthur L. Keith, in the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* (July).
- "Historical Manuscripts in the Library of the College of William and Mary," *ibid.*
- "Documents Relating to the Early History of the College of William and Mary and to the History of the Church in Virginia," continued, contributed by Herbert L. Ganter, *ibid.*
- "Virginia in 1726," continued, in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* (July).
- "William Byrd Title Book," continued, *ibid.*
- "Letters from Old Trunks [Randolph-Carr Letter]," contributed by Mrs. Anna Deane Carr Davids, *ibid.*

- "A Crisis in Education, 1834 (Washington College)," continued, contributed by William D. Hoyt, Jr., *ibid.*
- "Norfolk, Portsmouth, and Gosport as Seen by Moreau de Saint-Méry in March, April and May, 1794," concluded, translated and edited by Fillmore Norfleet, *ibid.*
- "Benn Pitman on the Trial of Lincoln's Assassins," edited by Paul H. Giddens, in *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine* (July).
- "Stafford County Wills, Administrations, Inventories, Etc., 1664-1760," contributed by John B. C. Nicklin, *ibid.*
- "Unpublished Letters from North Carolinians to Polk," concluded, edited by Elizabeth Gregory McPherson, in the *North Carolina Historical Review* (July).
- "Papers from the Spanish Archives Relating to Tennessee and the Old Southwest, 1783-1800," IV, translated and edited by D. C. Corbitt and Roberta Corbitt, in the East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications* (1940).
- "The 'J. Hartsell Memora': The Journal of a Tennessee Captain in the War of 1812," II, edited by Mary Hardin McCown, *ibid.*
- "Writings on Tennessee History, 1939," compiled by Laura E. Luttrell, *ibid.*
- "Memories of Life on a Farm in Hart County, Kentucky, in the Early Sixties," by Mary E. Brent Roberts, with a foreword by Elizabeth Madox Roberts, in the *Filson Club History Quarterly* (July).
- "John D. Shane's Interview with Pioneer John Hedge, Bourbon County," transcribed by Otto A. Rothert, *ibid.*
- "The Letters of Colonel Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky," edited by James A. Padgett, in the *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* (July).
- "Kentucky Marriages and Obituaries," X, compiled and edited by G. Glenn Clift, *ibid.*
- "Early Marriage Records of Madison County, Ky.," continued, compiled by W. Rodes Shackelford, *ibid.*
- "Bourbon Circuit Court Records," abstracted by Julia Spencer Ardery, *ibid.*

ARTICLES ON THE STATES OF THE LOWER SOUTH

- "A Century before Manumission—Sidelights on Slavery in Mid-Eighteenth-Century South Carolina," by Marguerite B. Hamer, in the *North Carolina Historical Review* (July).
- "The Genesis of Georgia: Merchants As Well As Ministers," by Albert B. Saye, in the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* (September).
- "Drakies Plantation," by Savannah Unit, Georgia Writers' Project, Work Projects Administration, *ibid.*
- "The Controversy between Dr. T. S. Powell and the Faculty of Atlanta Medical College," by Gregory Murphy, *ibid.*

- "The Decipherment of the 'Ben-Ali Diary,' A Preliminary Statement," by Joseph H. Greenberg, in the *Journal of Negro History* (July).
- "The Florida Historical Society, 1856-1861, 1879, 1902-1940," by Watt Marchman, in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* (July).
- "The Oratorical Career of Seargent S. Prentiss," by Dallas C. Dickey, in the *Journal of Mississippi History* (April).
- "The Route of De Soto Across Monroe County, December, 1540," by W. A. Evans, *ibid.*
- "The Great Stroke of Pierre Laffite," by Stanley Faye, in the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* (July).
- "New Orleans' 'Peculiar Institution,'" by John S. Kendall, *ibid.*
- "The Lost Journals of a Southwestern Frontiersman," by Paul Horgan, in the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* (July).
- "Two Texas Patriots," by Hugh H. Young, *ibid.*
- "The Coöperative Movement in Texas, 1870-1900," by Ralph Smith, *ibid.*
- "Nolan's 'Lost Nigger' Expedition of 1877," by H. Bailey Carroll, *ibid.*

DOCUMENTS AND COMPILATIONS ON THE STATES OF THE LOWER SOUTH

- "Letters from Thomas Pinckney Jr. to Harriott Pinckney," contributed by Anna Wells Rutledge, in the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* (July).
- "'On Liberty-Tree': A Revolutionary Poem from South Carolina," contributed by Jay B. Hubbell, *ibid.*
- "The Thomas Elfe Account Book, 1765-1775," continued, contributed by Mabel L. Webber, copied by Elizabeth H. Jervey, *ibid.*
- "Marriage and Death Notices from the City Gazette of Charleston, S. C.," contributed by Elizabeth H. Jervey, *ibid.*
- "Liberian Letters from a Former Georgia Slave," edited by Charles S. Davis, in the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* (September).
- "Papers Relating to the Georgia-Florida Frontier, 1784-1800," edited and translated by D. C. Corbitt, *ibid.*
- "Old Canoochee Backwoods Sketches," by Julia E. Harn, *ibid.*
- "Mississippi Copyright Entries, 1850-1870," compiled by Charles F. Heartman, in the *Journal of Mississippi History* (April).
- "The Printing of the 1799 Laws of the Mississippi Territory," edited by William B. Hamilton, *ibid.*
- "Letters from Franklin L. Riley to Herbert B. Adams, 1894-1901," edited by Charles S. Sydnor, *ibid.*
- "Some Documents Relating to the Batture Controversy in New Orleans," edited by James A. Padgett, in the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* (July).
- "José Alvarez de Toledo's Reconciliation with Spain and Projects for Suppres-

- sing Rebellion in the Spanish Colonies," translated and edited by Harris G. Warren, *ibid.*
- "Records of the Superior Council of Louisiana, March-April, 1762," LXXXIV, edited by G. Lugano, revised by Walter Prichard, *ibid.*
- "Index to the Spanish Judicial Records of Louisiana, May, 1784," LXVI, by Laura L. Porteous, marginal notes by Walter Prichard, *ibid.*
- "Documents Relating to Pierre Laffite's Entrance into the Service of Spain," translated and edited by Harris G. Warren, in the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* (July).
- "Spain's Indian Policy in Texas," translated by J. Villasana Haggard, *ibid.*
- "A Letter Book of Joseph Eve, United States Chargé D'Affaires to Texas," IV, edited by Joseph M. Nance, *ibid.*

GENERAL AND REGIONAL ARTICLES, DOCUMENTS, AND COMPILATIONS

- "Southern Contributions to the Social Order of the Old Northwest," by John D. Barnhart, in the *North Carolina Historical Review* (July).
- "The Quakers and Negro Slavery," by Herbert Aptheker, in the *Journal of Negro History* (July).
- "Edgar Dinsmore Letters," edited by R. B. Harwell, *ibid.*
- "On Rewriting Reconstruction History," by Howard K. Beale, in the *American Historical Review* (July).
- "The Opposition of Planters to the Employment of Slaves as Laborers by the Confederacy," by Harrison A. Trexler, in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (September).
- "Circumvention of Article VI of the Ordinance of 1787," by Daniel Owen, in the *Indiana Magazine of History* (June).

CONTRIBUTORS

J. G. RANDALL is professor of history at the University of Illinois.

PAUL H. BUCK is associate professor of history at Harvard University.

WILLIAM DIAMOND is a graduate student in the department of history at Johns Hopkins University.

WILFRED CARSEL is with the Wage and Hour Division, U. S. Department of Labor, and a candidate for the doctorate in American history at the University of Chicago.

C. L. MARQUETTE is chairman of the history department, Northland College, Ashland, Wisconsin.

JESSIE MELVILLE FRASER is associate professor of history at Sweet Briar College.

THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

A quarterly journal dealing with the history of the
Latin American countries.

JOHN TATE LANNING } EDITORS
ALAN K. MANCHESTER }

Contents of the August (1940) Issue

PORTUGAL CELEBRATES EIGHT CENTURIES
OF EXISTENCE, 1140-1940

João de Bianchi

VASCO DA GAMA—FIRST COUNT OF
VIDIGUEIRA

Charles E. Nowell

THE COLLECTION OF THE FIFTH IN
BRAZIL, 1695-1709

Manoel S. Cardozo

JOSE SILVESTRE REBELLO: THE FIRST
DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATIVE OF
BRAZIL IN THE UNITED STATES

Arthur P. Whitaker

SOME FOREIGN INFLUENCES IN CONTEM-
PORARY BRAZILIAN POLITICS

Bailey W. Diffie

BOOK REVIEWS

DOCUMENTS

NOTES AND COMMENT

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SECTION

SUBSCRIPTION: \$4.00 A YEAR

DUKE UNIVERSITY PRESS
Durham, N. C.

VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Organized 1831—Chartered 1834
JOSEPH D. EGGLESTON, PRESIDENT

Publishers of the
VIRGINIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

The July issue contained the following:

Washington West of the Blue Ridge, by Dr. John W. Wayland.

The Affair of the Pistole Fee, Virginia, 1752-55,
by Glenn Curtis Smith.

William Byrd Title Book, edited by Robert A. Lancaster, Jr.

A Crisis in Education, 1834 (Washington College),
by William D. Hoyt, Jr.

Notes and Documents.

Genealogy and Book Reviews.

Membership dues \$5.00 annually.

Magazine sent without additional charge to members.

LEE HOUSE, 707 EAST FRANKLIN ST.,
RICHMOND, VA.

EDITOR AND CORRESPONDING SEC'Y
ROBERT A. LANCASTER, JR.

THE SOUTHERN REVIEW

A Critical Quarterly

IN THE AUTUMN ISSUE

What Is Living and What Is Dead In Marxism

by Sidney Hook

Trotsky Becomes a Scholastic

by Max Eastman

Is Democracy Doomed?

by B. B. Kendrick and B. B. Kendrick, Jr.

Old Sarum, Bristol, and Washington

by Lindsay Rogers

Ben Jonson as Social Realist: Bartholomew Fair

by Julian Symons

T. S. Eliot After Strange Gods

by C. L. Barber

Literary Articles and Reviews, Fiction, Poetry

75c a copy

\$3.00 a year

Published by

**LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY PRESS
UNIVERSITY, LA., U.S.A.**

The JOURNAL of SOUTHERN HISTORY

**Now Available . . .
BACK NUMBERS**

\$3.00 A VOLUME
(Unbound)

75c A NUMBER . . .

SOME CONTRIBUTORS

Kathryn T. Abbey
Thomas P. Abernethy
Horace Adams
John D. Barnhart
William C. Binkley
Milledge L. Bonham, Jr.
Thomas D. Clark
E. M. Coulter
Avery Craven
F. Garvin Davenport
Edwin A. Davis
William Diamond
Edgar L. Erickson
Curtis W. Garrison
Paul W. Gates
Thomas P. Govan
Fletcher M. Green
Philip M. Hamer

J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton
Fred H. Harrington
Leonard C. Helderman
William R. Hogan
Albert V. House, Jr.
Herbert A. Kellar
Frank J. Klingberg
Fred Landon
William O. Lynch
E. Wilson Lyon
William A. Mabry
Robert D. Meade
George Fort Milton
Allen Moger
A. B. Moore
Jarvis M. Morse
Frank L. Owsley
James W. Patton
Haywood J. Pearce, Jr.

Walter B. Posey
Walter Prichard
P. L. Rainwater
Charles W. Ramsdell
Joseph C. Robert
William M. Robinson, Jr.
Daniel M. Robison
Robert R. Russel
Theodore Seloutos
Richard A. Shryock
Roger W. Shugg
Francis B. Simkins
Richard R. Stenberg
Mack Swearingen
Charles S. Sydnor
Harvey Wish
C. Vann Woodward
Robert H. Woody
Richard E. Yates



Write to

James W. Patton, Secretary-Treasurer
THE
SOUTHERN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
CONVERSE COLLEGE, SPARTANBURG, S. C.

NEW BOOKS in the Southern Biography Series

FELIX GRUNDY—Champion of Democracy

By Joseph Howard Parks

"In writing this biography Mr. Parks has admirably performed a needed task. . . . a good start on a series of books which give promise of becoming a noteworthy contribution to American biography." O. P. Chitwood in *West Virginia History*.

ix, 368 pages. Cloth. Illustrated.

\$3.00

EDWARD LIVINGSTON—Jeffersonian Republican and Jacksonian Democrat

By William B. Hatcher

America presents few examples of men so versatile as Edward Livingston, whom Charles A. Beard calls "one of the most remarkable figures of American history." This book is a study of the great codifier in his relation to two great eras of the republic.

xvi, 518 pp. Cloth. Illustrated.

\$3.50

THOMAS SPALDING OF SAPELO

By E. Merton Coulter

A study of an ante-bellum Southerner whose activity in developing the agriculture and industry of his region stamp him as one of the remarkable men of his day.

Ready November 15.

\$3.00

LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY PRESS

UNIVERSITY, LOUISIANA

THE SOUTHERN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION



PRESIDENT

FRANK L. OWSLEY, Vanderbilt University

VICE-PRESIDENT

BENJAMIN B. KENDRICK, Woman's College of the University of
North Carolina

SECRETARY-TREASURER

JAMES W. PATTON, Converse College

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

(In addition to the officers named above)

EX-PRESIDENTS

(For three years following expiration of their terms)

THOMAS P. ABERNETHY, University of Virginia (1940)

PHILIP M. HAMER, The National Archives (1941)

CHARLES S. SYDNOR, Duke University (1942)

MANAGING EDITOR

WENDELL H. STEPHENSON, Louisiana State University

ELECTED MEMBERS

THOMAS D. CLARK, University of Kentucky (1940)

BELL I. WILEY, University of Mississippi (1940)

KATHRYN T. ABBEY, Florida State College for Women (1941)

AVERY O. CRAVEN, University of Chicago (1941)

MINNIE CLARE BOYD, Mississippi State College for Women (1942)

FLETCHER M. GREEN, University of North Carolina (1942)

INDEX

The Journal of Southern History

VOLUME VI

- Aaron Lopez and Judab Tonro: A Refugee and a Son of a Refugee*, by Morris A. Gutstein, noted, 573.
- Abbey, Kathryn T., 419.
- Abernethy, Thomas P., 135; delivers Fleming Lectures, 289.
- Abolitionism, influence on Southerners' view of law, 7; singers and, in So., 74-75; views on, 349, 354; literature, critical analysis, 368-82; attacked by Southerners, 504-20.
- Acadians, in Br. West Fla., 215-16.
- "Activities of the Texan Revolutionary Army after San Jacinto," by William C. Binkley, 331-46.
- Adams, George W., "Confed. Medicine," 151-66.
- Adams, Horace, 289.
- Adams-Onís Treaty, book on, revd., 557-58.
- Adrian resolution, 453.
- Agriculture, Indian, 76-77; marketing of staples, 78-80; hist. census as source, 29 ff.; Ala., analysis of economy, 30-45; Miss., during Reconstruction, 111; in Br. West Fla., 201 ff.; and Miss. politics, 225 ff.; sugar, 348-67, 521-46; place in So. hist., 462 ff.; labor, contrasted with factory workers, 504-20; labor contract, 546-48; colonial, 549-50.
- Ahl, Frances Norene, *Andrew Jackson and the Const.*, revd., 268.
- Alabama, 56, 240, 481, 495; analysis of ante-bellum economy, 30-45; cotton kingdom in, 119-20; industries, beginning, 120; public land policy in, 304 ff.
- Alabama, Univ. of, lib. accessions, 425.
- Alcorn, James L., 108.
- Alexander, William, identified, 254.
- Alice, La. sugar plantation, 529 ff.
- Allen, Jack, 569.
- Allison, William B., 308.
- Allston, Robert F. W., rice factor, 79-80.
- Ambler, Charles H., *West Va.*, revd., 559-60.
- Amendments, Reconstruction, party conflict over, 50 ff. *See also*, Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth amendments.
- American Anti-Slavery Society, influence and work, 368 ff.
- American Home Missionary Society, study on, revd., 278-79.
- American Husbandry*, ed. by Harry J. Carman, revd., 549-50.
- Ames, Susie, 421.
- Amnesty, as Reconstruction issue, 64-65.
- Anderson, H. L., Fla. Progressive committeeman, 240.
- Andrew Jackson and the Constitution*, by Frances Norene Ahl, revd., 268.
- Anglicanism, in Colonial Va., 383 ff.
- "Annual Report of the Secretary-Treasurer," by Fletcher M. Green, 89-94.
- "Ante-Bellum Attempts to Regulate the Price and Supply of Cotton," by Thomas P. Govan, synop., 78-79.
- Anti-Slavery Record*, abolitionist publication, 368 ff.
- Antislavery Origins of the Civil War in the United States*, by Dwight L. Dumond, revd., 270-71.
- Arbuthnot, Marriott, 210.
- "Archaeological Discoveries in the Tennessee Valley," by T. M. N. Lewis, synop., 77-78.
- Archives, local, value to hist'l research, 27-28; Va., 190 ff.
- Arkansas, 56, 153, 481, 502, 538, 539; public land policy in, 304 ff.
- Arkansas, Univ. of, lib. accessions, 572.
- Armstrong, Martin, Indian fighter, 251 ff.
- Arnell, Samuel M., 171.
- Arnett, Alex M., revs. Dowd's *Braxton Craven*, 126-27.
- Arthur, Chester A., 1881 message to Cong., 458-59.
- Askew, William C., 420.
- "Aspects of Southern Religious History," program theme, 84-85.
- Atherton, Lewis E., 289, 290.
- Atticus Green Haygood*, by Elam F. Dempsey, revd., 414-15.
- Austria, Confed. arms purchases in, 477, 479-80.
- Bailey, John W., *Biology at the Univ. of Richmond*, noted, 429.
- Baird, S. M., 500.
- Baker, John, identified, 259.

- Baker, Ray S., 226, 290.
 Ballard, Ann, 248.
Baltimore and Ohio in the Civil War, by Festus P. Summers, revd., 273-74.
 Barker, Eugene C. (coed.), *Writings of Sam Houston*, II, revd., 268-70.
 Barnes, Gilbert H., 368; revs. Lloyd's *Slavery Controversy*, 271-73.
 Barnes, James A., 420.
 Barnhart, John D., 92; revs. Ambler's *West Va.*, 559-60.
 Barnwell, Mildred Gwin, *Faces We See*, noted, 139.
 Barnwell, N. B., 292.
 Baruch, Simon, 152.
 Bassett, John S., 469; on N. C., 460.
 Bayard, Thomas F., and Reconstruction, 50 ff.
 Bayne, Thomas L., rept. on arms imports, 477-78.
 Beale, Howard K., "Rewriting the Hist. of Reconstruction," synop., 82-83.
 Bean, William G., 78, 135, 291.
 Beard, Charles A., 421.
 Beard, S. C., Jr., 419.
 Beasley, Norman (coauth.), *Carter Glass*, revd., 131-32.
 Bedsole, V. L., revs. Brannon's *Beginnings of Some Ala. Industries*, 120; revs. Brawley's *Short Hist. of the Am. Negro*, 279-80.
 Bee, Hamilton P., on Mex. supplies, 500.
 Belknap, William W., and indebted r. rs., 171 ff.
 Bell, John, 448.
 Benjamin, Judah P., and Confed. imports, 475.
 Bennett, John, 292.
 Benton, Thomas H., 376.
 Bermuda, in blockade trade, 472.
 Bettersworth, John K., revs. Marshall and Evans' *They Found It In Natchez*, 284-85.
 Bible, So. and No. interpretation contrasted, 4 ff.
Bibliography of the Writings of Irving Bacheller, by A. J. Hanna, noted, 139.
 Bichat, Marie-Francois-Xavier, 156.
 Bieber, Ralph P., 291, 420.
 Bingham, John A., and 14th Amendment, 444-45.
 Binkley, Robert C., 422.
 Binkley, William C., revs. Williams and Barker's (coeds.) *Writings of Sam Houston*, II, 268-70; "Activities of the Tex. Rev. Army after San Jacinto," 331-46; revs. Parks' *Felix Grundy*, 409-11.
Biology at the University of Richmond, by John W. Bailey, noted, 429.
 Birney, James G., on No. Negro prejudice, 378.
 Blaine, James G., 308, 448; and Reconstruction politics, 49, 57; and indictment of Davis, 67.
 Bland-Allison Act, Dem. party split on, 69.
 Bledsoe, Albert Taylor, 110.
 Blegen, Theodore C., 422.
 Blockade, effect on So. imports, 154 ff., 470 ff.
 Blodgett, Delos A., 317.
 Bolton, Herbert E., 422.
 Bonham, Milledge L., Jr., 423; communication, 418.
 Bost, George H., 570.
 Botts, Charles T., *So. Planter* founder, 136-37.
 Bowers, Claude G., 51.
 Boyd, James, 138.
 Boyd, Julian P., 422.
 Boyd, Mark F., 425.
 Boyd, Minnie Clare, 92, 291.
 Boyd, Ruth, 424.
 Brackenridge, Edward A. and Edward F., lumber firm, 316-17.
 Bradford Club, 75.
 Bradley, Nathan B., 312, 315.
 Branner, John R., 180-81.
 Brannon, Peter A., "The Contribution of the Am. Indian to the Culture of the So.," synop., 76-77; *Beginnings of Some Ala. Industries*, revd., 120.
 Brawley, Benjamin, *Short Hist. of the Am. Negro*, revd., 279-80.
 Breckinridge, John C., 290, 448.
 Breckinridge, Robert J., controversy with Wickliffe, 75-76.
 Bridenbaugh, Carl, *Cities in the Wilderness*, revd., 403.
 Brimm, Henry M., 198.
British Empire before the American Revolution. Volume IV, *Zones of International Friction: North America, South of the Great Lakes Region, 1748-1754*, by Lawrence H. Gipson, revd., 260-61.
 Brock Collection, purchased, 190.
 Brook, Elizabeth, 421.
 Brooks, James, 55.
 Brooks, Philip C., 423; *Diplomacy and the Borderlands*, revd., 557-58.
 Brooks, Preston S., attack on Sumner, 21-23.
 Brooks-Baxter war, helps radicals, 56.
 Brown, Albert G., 102.
 Brown, Alexander, *Cabells and Their Kin*, 2nd edition, ed. by Carrington C. Tutwiler, revd., 402-403.
 Brown, James, 108.
 Brown, John P., 292.
 Brown, Joseph E., and Confed., 123-25.
 Browne, Montfort, and Br. West Fla., 216, 219.
 Bruce, Kathleen, revs. Randolph's *Domestic Life of Thomas Jefferson*, 405-407.

- Bruce, Philip A., 191; *Rise of the New So.*, cited as new departure, 459-60.
- Bryan, William J., 232.
- Buchanan, James, 448; misconceptions concerning, 454-55.
- Buck, Paul H., 137; "Genesis of the Nation's Problem in the So.," 458-69.
- Buckner, Simon Bolivar, biog., revd., 412-13.
- Buell, Don C., and So. r. rs., 179-80.
- Buford, Rivers, 424.
- Bullock, Mrs. Helen D., 569.
- Burnet, David G., and Tex. after San Jacinto, 337 ff.; arrest demanded by army, 344.
- Burnett, Edmund C., revs. Stephenson and Dunn's *George Washington*, I and II, 551-55.
- Burns, M., 177.
- Burnside, Ambrose E., and So. r. rs., 180 ff.
- Bute, Earl of, 210.
- Butler, Andrew Pickens, 22.
- Butler, Benjamin F., and So. Reconstruction, 55 ff.; and indebted r. rs., 185-86; in N. O., 358-59.
- Butts, A. B., 291.
- Byrd, William, readings as shown by diary, 383.
- Cabells and Their Kin: A Memorial Volume of History, Biography, and Genealogy*, by Alexander Brown, 2nd edition, ed. by Carrington C. Tutwiler, revd., 402-403.
- Cairnes, John E., 25.
- Calhoun, John C., 381, 556; proslavery resolutions, 21.
- California, 315.
- Callcott, W. H., 291.
- Calumet, La. sugar plantation, 522 ff.
- Calvin, John, writings, in Va. libs., 386.
- Cameron, Alexander, Indian agent, 249, 251.
- Cameron, Simon, 444, 455.
- Camp, Alex., 91.
- Campbell, Claude A., 421.
- Campbell, E. G., "Indebted R. Rs.," 167-88.
- Campbell, John A., 394.
- Campbell, Mary R., 421.
- Canby, Courtlandt, 570.
- Canby, Henry S., 18.
- Capers, Gerald M., Jr., 291; revs. Gohmann's *Political Naivism in Tenn.*, 118-19.
- Cappon, Lester J., 423; revs. McMurtrie's *N. C. Imprints*, 113-14; "Two Decades of Hist'l Activity in Va.," 189-200.
- Carleton, James H., 501.
- Carman, Harry J. (ed.), *Am. Husbandry*, revd., 549-50.
- Carlinas, malaria and colonization in, 550-51.
- Carraway, Gertrude, 138.
- Carrier, Lyman, 549.
- Carsel, Wilfred, "Slaveholders' Indictment of No. Wage Slavery," 504-20.
- Carson, Mrs. James M., 424.
- Carter, Clarence E., study noted, 263.
- Carter, Councilor Robert, lib., 390-91.
- Carter, John, lib., 389.
- Carter, John, II, lib., 390.
- Carter, Robert "King," lib., 390.
- Carter Glass: A Biography*, by Rixey Smith and Norman Beasley, revd., 131-32.
- Case, Lynn M., 420.
- Cassidy, Eugene, 54.
- Cassini, French bandmaster, 74.
- Castañeda, Carlos E., *Our Catholic Heritage in Tex.*, IV, revd., 261-62.
- Cate, Wirt A., 570.
- Cauthen, Charles E., 289, 419.
- Census returns, unpublished, value as hist'l source, 27 ff.
- Centenary College Goes to War in 1861*, by Arthur M. Shaw, Jr., noted, 429.
- Centennial History of the University of Louisville*, by Ky. Writers' Project, WPA, revd., 286-87.
- Century of Wayne County, Kentucky, 1800-1900*, by Augusta P. Johnson, revd., 283.
- Chalmers, James R., 397.
- Chalmers, Joseph W., 103.
- Chamberlain, Mrs. Hope S., 138.
- Chamberlin and Amendt, 325.
- Channing, William E., on abolitionist extremes, 376.
- Charleston, College of, lib. accessions, 425.
- Charleston, S. C., marketing center, 80; Confed. import center, 408 ff.
- Chase, Salmon P., 453, 455.
- Cherokee Indians, culture, 77; during Am. Rev., 251 ff.
- Chesnutt, Samuel L., *Rural So.*, revd., 411-12.
- Cheves, Langdon, 425.
- Chickasaw cession, division, 96.
- Child, Lydia, 378.
- Child, Sargent B., 422.
- Childs, Arney R., 568.
- Childs, St. Julien R., *Malaria and Colonization in the Carolina Low Country*, revd., 550-51.
- Childs, William T., *John McDonogh*, revd., 121-22.
- Chimborazo hospital, 154.
- Chisholm, Julian J., inventor of chloroform "inhaler," 155-56.
- Chitwood, Oliver P., *John Tyler*, revd., 266-67.
- Chivalry, So., and laws, 3 ff.
- Christian, William, Indian fighter, 251 ff.
- Cities in the Wilderness: The First Century of Urban Life in America, 1625-1742*, by Carl Bridenbaugh, revd., 403.

- Civil Rights bill, fight in Cong., 55-56.
 Civil War, med. practices, 151-66; effect on So. r. rs., 167 ff.; effect on La. planting, 358-60; So. imports during, 470-503.
 "Civil War and Reconstruction," program theme, 80-83.
 "Civil War Restudied," by James G. Randall, synop., 81-82; article, 439-57.
 Clapp, J. W., 397.
 Clark, Blanche Henry, 421.
 Clark, George W., 325.
 Clark, Thomas D., 89, 291, 421; revs. Nall's *Tobacco Night Riders*, 127-28; revs. Jennings' *Pioneer Merchant of St. Louis*, 555.
 Clarke, Daniel, 207.
 Clay, D. M., 158.
 Clay, Henry, 376; visit to Donaldsonville, La., 356-57.
 Clayton, Alexander M., 108; career, 392-96; letter to Davis on Confed. courts, 396-401.
 Clement, John, 422.
 Clemons, Harry, 196.
 Cleveland, Benjamin, sketch, 248.
 Clubbs, Occie, 424.
 Clyde, Paul H., 291.
 Cobb, Samuel E., 292.
 Cobb, W. Montague, *First Negro Med. Soc.*, revd., 130-31.
 Coburn, John, 55, 57.
 Coddington, Edwin B., revs. Small's (ed.) *Road to Richmond*, 125-26.
 Cole, Edmund W., 177, 178.
 Colonial Williamsburg, Inc., 195, 199, 200; publication, noted, 569; fellowship grants, 570.
 Colorado, 448.
 Confederacy, imports from Europe and Mex., 470-503; foreigners in, 561-63.
 "Confederate Medicine," by George W. Adams, 151-66.
 Conger, Omar, 312.
 Conkling, Roscoe, 49, 69; and 14th Amendment, 444-45.
 Connor, R. D. W., 1929 address noted, 460-61.
 Constitution, U. S., So. attitude toward, 4 ff.; criticized by abolitionists, 379.
Constitutional History of the United States, 1826-1876. Volume II, *A More Perfect Union*, by Homer C. Hockett, revd., 408-409.
 Contraband trade, Miss., 394 ff. *See also*, Blockade.
 "Contribution of the American Indian to the Culture of the South," by Peter A. Brannon, synop., 76-77.
 Cook, Roy B., ed. of *West Va. Hist.*, 138-39.
 Cooke, John Esten, 18.
 Copeland, Lewis C., essay noted, 567.
 Corporations, 14th Amendment and, 444-45.
 Cotterill, R. S., 92, 137; revs. Folmsbee's *Sectionalism and Internal Improvements in Tenn.*, 115-16.
 Cotton, attempt to control marketing, 78-79; in So. economy, 464 ff.; and Confed. trade, 470 ff.
Cotton Kingdom in Alabama, by Charles S. Davis, revd., 119-20.
 "Cotton Question at Home and Abroad," by Thomas P. Martin, synop., 86-87.
 Coulter, E. Merton, 135, 281; revs. Diamond's *Antislavery Origins of the Civil War*, 270-71.
 Couper, William, *One Hundred Years at V. M. I.*, I and II, revd., 285-86.
Course of American Democratic Thought: An Intellectual History Since 1815, by Ralph H. Gabriel, revd., 555-57.
 Cox, Samuel S., and Reconstruction, 50 ff.; and tariff, 60.
 Coy, Thomas, 28-29.
 Cramer, Zadok, 555.
 Craven, Avery, 291, 419; revs. Mudge's *Social Philosophy of John Taylor of Caroline*, 404-405.
 Craven, Braxton, biog., revd., 126-27.
 Creel, George, 226.
 Creel, Reuben W., on Confed. imports, 501-502.
 "Critical Analysis of Abolition Literature, 1830-1840," by Henry H. Simms, 368-82.
 Crittenden, Christopher C., 422; (coed.), *Hist'l Records of N. C.*, III, noted, 140.
 Crittenden, John J., 449.
 Crosby, D. T., labor contract, 546-48.
 Crow, F. Hilton, 138.
 Crowder, Enoch H., 568.
 Crowninshield, Mrs. Louise duPont, 292.
 Cuba, in blockade trade, 472, 499.
 Curry, Calvin H., 424.
 Cuthbertson, Stuart (cocomp.), *Preliminary Bibl. of Am. Fur Trade*, noted, 574.
 Dabney, Virginius, 569.
 Dakota, territory, Reps. and, 448.
 Dallas Historical Society, MS. accessions, 572.
 Dana, James J., and indebted r. rs., 169 ff.
 Daniels, Josephus, *Tar Heel Editor*, revd., 415-16.
 Dantzler, L. N., 317.
 Dargan, Marion, revs. Gittinger's *Formation of the State of Okla.*, 280-82.
 Davidson, Donald, 466.
 Davidson, Elizabeth H., revs. James's *Va.'s Social Awakening*, 417.
 Davidson, John, 27-28.
 Davidson, Philip, revs. Morris's (ed.) *Era of the Am. Rev.*, 262-64.

- Davis, Allison, essay noted, 567.
 Davis, Charles S., *Cotton Kingdom in Ala.*, revd., 119-20; revs. Chesnutt's *Rural So.*, 411-12.
 Davis, Edwin A., 420.
 Davis, Harry T., 138.
 Davis, Jefferson, 103, 555; and Confed. cabinet, 274-75; rept. to, on Confed. courts, 393 ff.; and Confed. imports, 484 ff.
 Davis, John A., 291.
 Davis, Richard B., *Francis Walker Gilmer*, revd., 407-408.
 Davis, W. W., 424.
 Deaderick, Lucile, 292.
 DeLay, William, 104.
 Democratic party, during Reconstruction, 46-71; Miss., and 1907 senatorial contest, 223 ff.; La. planter's views on, 534.
 Dempsey, Elam F., *Atticus Green Haygood*, revd., 414-15.
 Destler, Chester McA., 291, 420.
 DeWeerd, H. A., 291.
 Diamond, William, "Imports of the Confed. Govt. from Europe and Mex.," 470-503.
 Dickerson, Oliver M., study noted, 262.
 Dickinson, Anna E., 456.
Diplomacy and the Borderlands: The Adams-Onís Treaty of 1819, by Philip C. Brooks, revd., 557-58.
 Disston, Hamilton, 326.
 Dixon, Joseph M., campaign manager, 239.
 Dodd, Dorothy, 289, 424.
 Dodd, William E., death noted, 290-91.
Domestic Life of Thomas Jefferson: Compiled from Family Letters and Reminiscences by his Great-Granddaughter, by Sarah N. Randolph, revd., 405-407.
 Dorris, Jonathan T., 81, 569; revs. Johnson's *Century of Wayne County, Ky.*, 283.
 Douglas, Stephen A., 448; compared with Lincoln, 451.
 Dowd, Jerome, *Braxton Craven*, revd., 126-27.
 Draper, Lyman C., 191.
 Driggs, John F., 307.
 Driscoll, Dennis, 73.
 Drugs, Confed. problem, 154.
 Dueling, So. attitude conc., 17 ff.
 Dumond, Dwight L., *Antislavery Origins of the Civil War*, revd., 270-71.
 Dunbar, Louise, study noted, 263.
 Dunham, David R., 424.
 Dunn, Waldo H. (coauth.), *George Washington*, I and II, revd., 551-55.
 Dunne, Finley Peter, 290.
 Durnford, Elias, 215.
 Dyer, Eliphalet, sketch noted, 263.
 Dyer, John P., 135, 289, 291, 419; revs. Sherwood's *Gazetteer of the State of Ga.* (reprint), 264; revs. Childs' *Malaria and Colonization in the Carolina Low Country*, 550-51.
Early Kentucky Distillers, 1783-1800, by Willard R. Jillson, noted, 572.
 East, Robert, study noted, 263.
 East Tennessee Historical Society, ann. banquet noted, 138; meeting noted, 292.
 Easterby, J. Harold, 468; "The S. C. Rice Factor," synop., 79-80.
 Eaton, Clement, *Freedom of Thought in the Old So.*, revd., 558-59.
 Eckenrode, H. J., 420.
 "Economic Basis of Society in the Late Ante-Bellum South," by Frank L. and Harriet C. Owsley, 24-45.
 "Economic History of the Old South," program theme, 78-80.
 Edmunds, James M., public land policy, 306.
 Edwards, Everett E., revs. Carman's (ed.) *Am. Husbandry*, 549-50.
Eighteenth Century North Carolina Imprints, 1749-1800, by Douglas C. McMurtrie, revd., 113-14.
 Eisenschiml, Otto, 138.
 Eldredge, Charles A., and Reconstruction, 50 ff.
 Elliott, Claude, 289.
 Ellis, Elmer, 290, 421.
 Emancipation, hist'l significance, 81-82; Proclamation, misconceptions conc., 454.
Emancipator, abolitionist publication, 368 ff.
 Emory University Library, accessions, 426.
 England, Confed. imports from, 471 ff.; social conditions, cited by So. publicists, 508 ff.
 Ennis, Thomas E., 291.
Era of the American Revolution: Studies Inscribed to Everts Boutell Greene, ed. by Richard B. Morris, revd., 262-64.
 Ernst, Robert, 568.
 Europe, Confed. imports from, 470 ff.
 Evans, Gladys Crail (coauth.), *They Found It In Natchez*, revd., 284-85.
 Evans, Luther H., 422.
 Ewers, John C. (cocomp.), *Preliminary Bibl. of Am. Fur Trade*, noted, 574.
Faces We See, by Mildred G. Barnwell, noted, 139.
 Factorage, sugar, 79, 350 ff.; rice, 79-80.
 Fairbank, Nathaniel K., 315.
 Falls, Gilreath, identified, 254.
 Farish, Hunter D., 570; "Recent Trends in So. Methodism," synop., 85; (ed.) *Present State of Va. and the College* (reprint), noted, 569.

- Farmer, Robert, Mobile commandant, 202 ff.
- Farnsworth, John G., 168.
- "Federal Land Policy in the South, 1866-1888," by Paul W. Gates, 303-30.
- Felix Grundy, Champion of Democracy*, by Joseph H. Parks, revd., 409-411.
- Fenner, Erasmus D., 158.
- Ferree, Jacob, identified, 257.
- Ferrell, C. M., 423.
- Ferry, Thomas W., 62.
- Fifteenth Amendment, as Miss. political issue, 1907, pp. 227 ff.; Progressive party and, 245.
- "Fifth Annual Meeting of the Southern Historical Association," by James W. Patton, 72-88.
- Filibustering, during Reconstruction, 50 ff., 63, 68.
- Filisola, Vicente, replaces Santa Anna, 335; leads Mex. troops from Tex., 335 ff.; superseded, 342.
- Filson Club, 75.
- "Financing and Marketing the Sugar Crop of the Old South," by J. Carlyle Sitterson, synop., 79.
- Finch, Francis M., 75.
- Fingal*, first ship to run blockade, 476.
- Fink, Albert, 168.
- First Negro Medical Society: A History of the Medico-Chirurgical Society of the District of Columbia, 1884-1939*, by W. Montague Cobb, revd., 130-31.
- Fischer, Karl W., *Mystics and Beta Theta Pi*, noted, 429.
- Fitzhugh, George, So. propagandist, 504.
- Flanders, Ralph B., 289, 371.
- Fleming, Walter Lynwood, Lectures in So. Hist., fourth series, noted, 289.
- Fletcher, James, identified, 258.
- Flinn, William, and Negro Progressives, 244.
- Flint, Ephriam, 521.
- Flint, Richard, 522.
- Florida, 68, 153, 240, 242, 243; public land policy in, 304 ff.
- Florida Historical Society, meetings noted, 138, 292, 424; lib. additions, 141, 293-94, 426.
- Flournoy, Mary H., *Side Lights on So. Hist.*, noted, 294.
- Flowers, T. A., 325.
- Floyd, John, 448.
- Fogg, Godfrey M., 179-80.
- Folmsbee, Stanley J., 292; *Sectionalism and Internal Improvements in Tenn.*, revd., 115-16.
- Foot, Henry S., 103.
- Forbes, Willsom, rept. on West Fla., 201.
- Force bill, Reconstruction, 53 ff.
- Foreigners in the Confederacy*, by Ella Lonn, revd., 561-63.
- Formation of the State of Oklahoma, 1803-1906*, by Roy Gittinger, revd., 280-82.
- Forsberg, Augustus, 73.
- Fourteenth Amendment, as Miss. political issue, 1907, pp. 227 ff.; revisionist interpretations, 444-45.
- Francis Walker Gilmer: Life and Learning in Jefferson's Virginia*, by Richard B. Davis, revd., 407-408.
- Franklin, W. Neil, 289, 292.
- Fraser, Jessie M., "A Free Labor Contract, 1867," 546-48.
- Frazier, E. Franklin, *Negro Family in the U. S.*, revd., 128-30.
- "Free Labor Contract, 1867," ed. by Jessie M. Fraser, 546-48.
- Freedmen's Bureau, and relief grants, 65; and La. planting, 360.
- Freedom of Thought in the Old South*, by Clement Eaton, revd., 558-59.
- Freeman, Douglas S., 289; *South to Posterity*, revd., 413-14.
- French, foreign policy and Tex., 85-86; in Br. West Fla., 205 ff.; conflict with Br. in Am., 260-61.
- French Travelers in the Southeastern United States, 1775-1800*, by Lee W. Ryan, revd., 404.
- Fridge, Benjamin F., and Negro Progressives, 245.
- Friend of Man*, abolitionist publication, 368 ff.
- Frontier, influence in So., 7-9.
- Fulkerson, Horace S., on So. planters, 9.
- Gabriel, Ralph H., *Course of Am. Dem. Thought*, revd., 555-57.
- Gage, Thomas, 205, 263.
- Gaillard, Edwin S., 158.
- Gales, Joseph, 73.
- Galloway, Louis C., 421.
- Gamble, John G., attempts to regulate cotton market, 78-79.
- Gambrell, Herbert P., 569.
- Garfield, James A., 59, 62, 70; and Reconstruction politics, 49.
- Garrison, William L., 74, 369; denounces So., 373; on No. Negro prejudice, 378-79; on U. S. Const., 379.
- Gary, Martin W., study conc., 563-64.
- Gates, James L., 317.
- Gates, Paul W., "Fed. Land Policy in the South, 1866-1888," 303-30.
- Gazetteer of the State of Georgia* (reprint), by Rev. Adiel Sherwood, revd., 264.
- Gee, Wilson, 194.
- "Genesis of the Nation's Problem in the South," by Paul H. Buck, 458-69.

- George Washington, I and II, by Nathaniel W. Stephenson and Waldo H. Dunn, revd., 551-55.
- Georgia, 53, 55, 73, 155, 209, 240, 243, 249, 481; 18th century religion in, 112-13; Gazetteer of, reprint, revd., 264.
- "Georgian at the Court of the Hapsburgs," by C. Lee Harwell, synop., 87.
- Germans, in Br. West Fla., 215-16.
- Gewehr, Wesley M., 569.
- Gholson, Samuel J., 397.
- Gibson, Randall L., 366.
- Gilmer, Francis W., biog., revd., 407-408.
- Gilpatrick, Delbert H., 424; "Refugee Journalists in the So.," synop., 73.
- Gipson, Lawrence H., *Br. Empire before the Am. Rev.*, IV, revd., 260-61.
- Gittinger, Roy, *Formation of the State of Okla.*, revd., 280-82.
- Glasgow, Ellen, 18; cited as interpreter of So., 460.
- Glass, Carter, biog., revd., 131-32.
- Godfrey, James L., 291.
- Gohmann, Sister Mary de Lourdes, *Political Nativism in Tenn.*, revd., 118-19.
- Gold, William Jay, article noted, 294.
- Gonzales, Ambrosio, 73.
- Goodell, William, 369; on slave codes, 372.
- Goodykoontz, Colin B., *Home Missions on the Am. Frontier*, revd., 278-79.
- Gordon, Lord Adam, rept. on Mobile and Pensacola, 205-206.
- Gorgas, Josiah, work in Confed. Ordnance Bureau, 474 ff.
- Gosney, Mrs. C. A., 138.
- Govan, Gilbert, 138.
- Govan, Thomas P., 289; "Ante-Bellum Attempts to Regulate the Price and Supply of Cotton," synop., 78-79.
- Grady, Henry W., on So., 463, 464.
- Graff, Mary B., 424.
- Grant, Ulysses S., 182, 313, 502, 528; and Reconstruction politics, 49 ff.
- Graves, John T., Jr., 138.
- Gray, R. A., 424.
- Greeley, Horace, 74, 455.
- Green, Mr., La. sugar planter, 348, 350, 351.
- Green, Beriah, 369, 379.
- Green, Fletcher M., 92, 135, 419; "Ann. Rept. of the Secy.-Treas.," 89-94; revs. Hockett's *Const. Hist. of the U. S.*, II, 408-409.
- Green, James S., 454.
- Green, Thomas J., 338.
- Greene, Evarts Boutell, studies inscribed to, revd., 262-64.
- Greenfield, Kent R., 419.
- Grenfel, St. Leger, 73-74.
- Grimké, Angelina, 369; on Negro prejudice, 378.
- Groce, George, study noted, 263.
- Grundy, Felix, biog., revd., 409-11.
- Guide to the Material in the National Archives*, noted, 573.
- Gutstein, Morris A., *Aaron Lopez and Judab Touro*, noted, 573.
- Gwin, William M., and Thompson, 103-104.
- Hackley, Charles H., 317.
- Haiti and the United States*, by Ludwell L. Montague, revd., 565-66.
- Haldimand, Frederick, 205.
- Hale, Eugene, 56.
- Hale, Matthew, on Negro Progressives, 242-43.
- Hall, T., 325.
- Hamer, Philip M., 422.
- Hamill, Samuel R., and indebted r. rs., 172-73.
- Hamilton, J. G. de Roulhac, 422; (ed.), "Revolutionary Diary of William Lenoir," 247-59.
- Hamilton, James, Jr., attempts to regulate cotton markets, 78-79.
- Hammond, George P., revs. Castañeda's *Our Catholic Heritage in Tex.*, IV, 261-62.
- Hammond, James H., on wage labor, 512.
- Hampton, Wade, reappraised, 563-64.
- Hanna, Alfred J., 89, 91, 424; *Bibl. of the Writings of Irving Bacheller*, noted, 139; revs. *Freeman's So. to Posterity*, 413-14.
- Harding, Abner C., public land policy, 306.
- Harper, Lawrence, study noted, 262.
- Harper, William, So. propagandist, 370, 504.
- Harrington, Fred H., 568.
- Harris, Mrs. Bernice Kelly, 136.
- Harris, Julian, and Progressive party, 241, 243, 244, 245.
- Hart, Albert B., 368.
- Hart, Simeon, and Confed. imports, 499, 500.
- Harvey, Turlington W., 315.
- Harwell, C. Lee, "A Georgian at the Court of the Hapsburgs," synop., 87.
- Hay, Thomas R., revs. Hendrick's *Statesmen of the Lost Cause*, 274-75; revs. Stickles' *Simon Bolivar Buckner*, 412-13.
- Hayes, Rutherford B., 49, 69; effect of vetoes, 70.
- Hayes Foundation, grants-in-aid, 420.
- Haygood, Atticus G., biog., revd., 414-15.
- Head, Franklin H., 315.
- Heckman, Oliver S., "The Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., in So. Reconstruction, 1860-1880," synop., 84-85.
- Hemphill, W. Edwin, 421; revs. Hilldrup's *Life and Times of Edmund Pendleton*, 114-15.
- Henderson, Archibald, 138.

- Henderson, Michael, identified, 254.
 Hendrick, Burton J., *Statesmen of the Lost Cause*, revd., 274-75.
 Hendricks, Thomas A., and Reconstruction, 50 ff.
 Heney, Francis J., 244.
 Henry, R. L., 326.
 Hergesheimer, Joseph, 18.
 Herndon, Joseph, identified, 253.
 Hertzog, Joseph, 555.
 Hewes, William G., N. O. factor, 354.
 Hewitt, Abram S., and Reconstruction, 50 ff.
 Hewitt, Goldsmith W., on public land policy, 310.
 Hill, Benjamin H., 449.
 Hill, Louise Biles, *Joseph E. Brown and the Confederacy*, revd., 123-25.
 Hilldrup, Robert L., 289; *Edmund Pendleton*, revd., 114-15.
Historical Records of North Carolina, III, ed. by Christopher C. Crittenden and Dan Lacy, noted, 140-41.
 Historical Records Survey, inventories and transcriptions, noted, 140.
History of the North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering of the University of North Carolina, 1889-1939, by David A. Lockmiller, revd., 288.
 Hockett, Homer C., *Const. Hist. of the U. S.*, II, revd., 408-409.
 Hogan, William R., 420.
 Holland, Sir Henry, 157.
 Holman, William S., and Reconstruction, 50 ff.; opposes repeal of So. Homestead Act, 311-13; and public lands, 327.
 Holmes, S. J., essay noted, 566.
 Holt, W. Stull, 421.
Home Missions on the American Frontier: With Particular Reference to the American Home Missionary Society, by Colin B. Goodykoontz, revd., 278-79.
 Homesteading, and public land policy, 303 ff.
 Hopkins, Henry J., 84.
 Hopkins, James F., 421.
 House, Albert V., Jr., "No. Cong. Dems. as Defenders of the So. During Reconstruction," 46-71; revs. Miller's *Thaddeus Stevens*, 276-77.
 Houston, M. H., 157-58.
 Houston, Sam, writings, revd., 268-70; wounded at San Jacinto, 333; assumes Tex. presidency, 346.
 Howard, C. N., "Some Economic Aspects of Br. West Fla.," 201-21.
 Howry, James M., 106.
 Hubbard, Matthew, 387.
 Huhner, Leon, 138, 424.
Human Rights, abolitionist publication, 368 ff.
 Humbert, Willard H., 569.
 Hundley, David R., observations on slavery, 377.
 Huntington Library, 190.
 Huse, Caleb, Confed. agent, 474 ff.
 Huston, Felix, and Tex. army, 344, 346.
 Hutchins, W. J., 502.
 Hutchinson, John, and family, singers, 74-75.
 Immigration, and La. labor, 521, 533.
 "Imports of the Confederate Government from Europe and Mexico," by William Diamond, 470-503.
 "Indebted Railroads—A Problem of Reconstruction," by E. G. Campbell, 167-88.
 Indians, So., program topic, 76-78; Miss., 95-96; in Br. West Fla., 201 ff.; during Am. Rev., 249 ff.; and Br. in Am., 260-61.
 "Influence of French Diplomatic Policy on the Annexation of Texas," by Richard A. McLemore, synop., 85-86.
 Jack, Samuel, identified, 251.
 Jackson, Andrew, 12, 376, 393; and the Const., revd., 268.
 Jacobs, J., 158-59.
 Jamaica, 210.
 James, Arthur W., *Va's. Social Awakening*, revd., 417.
 Jay, William, on emancipation, 370.
 Jefferson, Thomas, 190, 370, 463, 553; domestic life, 405-407.
 Jennings, Sister Marietta, *Pioneer Merchant of St. Louis*, revd., 555.
 Jewell, Almira, 292.
 Jillson, Willard R., *Early Ky. Distillers*, noted, 572.
 Joerg, W. L. G., 422.
John Freeman Young, Second Bishop of Florida, by Edgar L. Pennington, noted, 139.
John McDonogh, His Life and Work, by William T. Childs, revd., 121-22.
 "John Sharp Williams Becomes a United States Senator," by George C. Osborn, 222-36.
John Tyler: Champion of the Old South, by Oliver P. Chitwood, revd., 266-67.
 Johnson, Andrew, 105-106, 108, 452; and Reconstruction, 52 ff.; and So. r. rs., 168.
 Johnson, Augusta P., *Cenury of Wayne County, Ky.*, revd., 283.
 Johnson, Benjamin, identified, 258.
 Johnson, Charles S., essay noted, 567.
 Johnson, Guy B., essay noted, 566-67.
 Johnson, Herschel V., 449.
 Johnson, Samuel, 258.
 Johnston, Frontis W., 420, 421.

- Johnston, Joseph E., and contraband trade, 395-96.
- Johnstone, George, gov. of West Fla., 204 ff.
- Jones, John Peyton, 96.
- Jones, Joseph, Confed. med. leader, 156 ff.
- Jordan, Philip D., 140; "No. Singers in the So.," synop., 74-75; revs. Goodykoontz's *Home Missions on the Am. Frontier*, 278-79.
- Jordan, R. D., 352.
- Jordan, Weymouth T., 421; wins McClung Award, 135; revs. Davis' *Cotton Kingdom in Ala.*, 119-20.
- Joseph E. Brown and the Confederacy*, by Louise Biles Hill, revd., 123-25.
- Journalists, refugee, in the So., 73.
- Julian, George W., public land policy, 305 ff.
- Kansas, slavery question and, 447-48.
- Kellar, Herbert A., 422; restoration work, 200.
- Kemp, John, readings, 385-86.
- Kendrick, Benjamin B., 80, 92, 137, 420.
- Kentucky, 72; courts, 75; politics in 1830's, 76; tobacco night riders, 127-28; guide book, revd., 282-83; Wayne County hist., 283.
- Kentucky, Univ. of, host to Assoc., 72; publication program, 293; lib. additions, 572.
- Kentucky State Historical Society, 75; meeting noted, 423.
- Kentucky Writers' Project, *Centennial Hist. of the Univ. of Louisville*, revd., 286-87.
- Keppel, Augustus, 210.
- Kerr, Michael, and Reconstruction, 50 ff.
- Kerr, Mrs. Florence, 422.
- Kettell, Thomas P., *So. Wealth and No. Profits*, noted, 466.
- Kimmey, M. M., on Confed. imports, 501.
- King, James F., 421.
- Kinnion, John, 210.
- Kittredge, E. E., 348.
- Know-Nothing party, Tenn., study on, revd., 118-19.
- Kohlmeier, A. L., revs. Bridenbaugh's *Cities in the Wilderness*, 403.
- Koontz, Louis K., 289.
- Kraus, Michael, study noted, 264.
- Krey, A. C., 290.
- Ku Klux Klan, effect on Cong., 52, 54-55.
- Lacey, James D., land speculations, 316.
- Lacy, Dan (coed.), *Hist'l Records of N. C.*, III, noted, 140.
- Lafferty, Maude W., *Lure of Ky.*, revd., 282-83.
- LaFuze, G. Leighton, 569.
- Lamar, L. Q. C., 110.
- Lamar, Mirabeau B., and Mex. relations after San Jacinto, 333, 337; appointed to command army, 343; rejected by army, 344.
- Lamson, Herbert, 424.
- Land speculation, in Br. West Fla., 206 ff.
- Lands, public, as issue during Reconstruction, 60; Fed. policy in So., 303-30.
- Lanier, Sidney, 464.
- Latham, George R., 307.
- Law, So. interpretation of, 3-23.
- Lawson, Mrs. E. W., 138.
- Lawton, Alexander R., and Confed. imports, 489 ff.
- Lea, W. A., 99.
- Lee, Robert E., 182, 489, 492, 555.
- Lee, Stephen D., 495.
- Lefler, Hugh T., 135, 289.
- Leland, Waldo G., 193, 422.
- Lenoir, William, biog., 247-49, 251; Rev. diary, 253-59.
- Lesesne, J. Mauldin, 569.
- Leslie, Theodore, III, 292.
- "Letter of Judge Alexander M. Clayton Relative to Confederate Courts in Mississippi," ed. by Nannie M. Tilley, 392-401.
- "Letters of a Yankee Sugar Planter," ed. by C. L. Marquette, 521-46.
- "Letters To and From Jacob Thompson," ed. by P. L. Rainwater, 95-111.
- Levees, La. problem, 527 ff.
- Lewis, T. M. N., "Archaeological Discoveries in the Tenn. Valley," synop., 77-78.
- Liberal Republicans, 51.
- Liberator*, abolitionist publication, 368 ff.
- Libraries, Va., 189 ff.
- Life and Times of Edmund Pendleton*, by Robert L. Hildrup, revd., 114-15.
- Life of Braxton Craven: A Biographical Approach to Social Science*, by Jerome Dowd, revd., 126-27.
- Lincoln, Abraham, 52, 441, 444, 446, 456, 474, 556; attitude toward slavery, 449; compared with Douglas and McClellan, 451-52.
- Lincoln, Robert Todd, 293.
- Lindsay, John, 210.
- List of Doctoral Dissertations in History Now in Progress*, 1939, noted, 429-30.
- Lloyd, Arthur Y., 135; *Slavery Controversy*, revd., 271-73.
- Lloyd, Henry D., 420.
- Locke, Francis, identified, 255.
- Lockmiller, David A., 136, 138, 568; *Hist. of N. C. State College*, revd., 288.
- Loewenberg, B. J., 291.
- Log Cabin Myth, A Study of the Early Dwellings of the English Colonists in North America*, by Harold R. Shurtleff, noted, 294.
- Logan, John A., 62.

- London, Lawrence F., revs., *Dempsey's Atticus Green Haygood*, 414-15.
- Long, Augustus W., *Son of Carolina*, revd., 277-78.
- Long Bell Lumber Company, and public lands, 315 ff.
- Longyear, John W., 307.
- Lonn, Ella, 135; "Picturesque Foreigners in the So.," synop., 73; *Foreigners in the Confed.*, revd., 561-63.
- Lorimer, John, rept. on Mobile, 202; rept. on West Fla., 213-14.
- Louis, Pierre-Charles-Alexander, 156.
- Louisiana, 53, 54, 68, 79, 243, 502; slaves in legal procedure, 11; origins of class struggle in, 116-17; trade, 208 ff.; public land policy in, 304 ff.; sugar planting, 348-67, 521-46.
- Louisiana State University, Department of Archives and Manuscripts, acquisitions, 141-43, 427-28.
- Louisville, Univ. of, hist., revd., 286-87.
- Love, E. C., 424.
- Love, James, 424.
- Lumber industry, and public land policy, 307 ff.
- Lumbermen, and public land policy, 310 ff.; names of large operators, 314 ff.
- Lundy, Benjamin, 369; establishes *Nat. Enquirer*, 379.
- Lure of Kentucky: A Historical Guide Book*, by Maude Ward Lafferty, revd., 282-83.
- Lutcher, Henry J., lumber operations, 318 ff.
- Luttrell, Laura E., 292.
- Lyman, Phineas, company of merchant adventurers, 220-21.
- Lynch, William O., 92; revs. Palmer's *Marshall and Taney*, 265-66.
- Maabry, W. A., 291.
- McBrien, D. D., 291.
- McCallum, Daniel C., director of So. r. rs., 167.
- McChesney, Harry V., 75.
- McClellan, George B., compared with Lincoln, 451-52.
- McClung, Mrs. C. M., 135.
- McCollam, Alex., La. sugar planter, 362, 363 ff.
- McCollam, Andrew, La. sugar planter, 347 ff.
- McCollam, Andrew, Jr., 357, 360 ff.
- McCollam, Edmund, 360; La. sugar planter, 363 ff.
- McCollam, John, La. sugar planter, 347 ff.
- "McCollams: a Planter Family of the Old and New South," by J. Carlyle Sitterson, 347-67.
- McDonogh, John, biog., revd., 121-22.
- McDuffie, George, 376, 381, 504.
- McEnery, Samuel, 233.
- McGeachy, J. A., 421.
- MacGillivray, John, 207.
- McGinty, Garnie W., 289.
- McGroarty, William B., *Old Presbyterian Meeting House at Alexandria, Va.*, noted, 572-73.
- McIlwaine, Henry R., editorial labors, 193.
- McIlwaine, Shields, *So. Poor-White*, revd., 564-65.
- McIntosh, James, 207.
- McKay, John G., 424.
- McKinney, Thomas F., and Tex. army supplies, 335.
- McLain, Raymond F., 87.
- McLean, Ross H., 135.
- McLemore, Richard A., "Influence of Fr. Diplomatic Policy on the Annexation of Tex.," synop., 85-86; revs. Ryan's *Fr. Travelers in the Southeastern U. S.*, 404.
- McMillen, James A., *Works of James D. B. De Bow*, noted, 573.
- McMurtrie, Douglas C., 422; *North Carolina Imprints*, revd., 113-14.
- McNiff, J. W., 140.
- McQueen, Walter, 168.
- McVey, Frank L., 85.
- Maine, 314.
- Malaria and Colonization in the Carolina Low Country, 1526-1696*, by St. Julien R. Childs, revd., 550-51.
- Mansfield, Lord, 210.
- Manucy, Albert C., 424.
- Marchman, Watt, 424.
- Marquette, C. L. (ed.), "Letters of a Yankee Sugar Planter," 521-46.
- Marshall, Theodora Britton (coauth.), *They Found It In Natchez*, revd., 284-85.
- Marshall and Taney: Statesmen of the Law*, by Ben W. Palmer, revd., 265-66.
- Martin, François-Xavier, 208.
- Martin, Thomas P., "Cotton Question at Home and Abroad, 1849-1861," synop., 86-87.
- Marxian history, and slave insurrections, 445.
- Maryland, 190, 239.
- Maryland Historical Society, MS. accessions, 426-27.
- Mason, George, on slave masters, 9.
- Massachusetts, 241, 385; and Brooks-Sumner affair, 22-23.
- Mastin, Joseph T., social work, 417.
- Mathews, Joseph J., 290, 420.
- May, Samuel J., 379.
- Mayo, Bernard, 291.
- Meade, Robert D., 135, 289.
- Medical societies, 130-31, 153 ff.
- Medicine, Confed., 151-66; Civil War imports, 495-96.

- Meigs, Montgomery C., and indebted r. rs., 168 ff., 178 ff.
- Meine, Franklin J., "So. Story-Telling in the N. Y. *Spirit of the Times*, 1835-1860," synop., 87-88.
- Mendenhall, Marjorie S., 464.
- Merrill, William E., 168.
- Methodism, recent trends in, 85.
- Mexico, relations with Tex. after San Jacinto, 331 ff.; exports to Confed., 482 ff.
- Michigan, 314.
- Middleton, Arthur P., 570.
- Miles, H. Chalmer, 158.
- Military supplies, Confed., source of, 473 ff.
- Millard, Henry, sent to arrest Burnet, 344-45.
- Miller, Alphonse B., *Thaddeus Stevens*, revd., 276-77.
- Miller, John, 73.
- Miller, Mrs. Lou Egerton, Jr., 424.
- Milton, George F., 51.
- Minnesota, 314.
- Minnigerode, Charles, 74.
- Minor, William J., 359.
- Mission Era: The Passing of the Missions, 1762-1782*, by Carlos E. Castañeda, revd., 261-62.
- Mississippi, 53, 240, 243, 539; slaves in legal procedure, 11; ante-bellum, 95-96; Reconstruction, 104 ff.; 1907 Senate race, 222-36; public land policy in, 304 ff.; Confed. courts, 392-401.
- Mississippi, Univ. of, Thompson and, 107.
- Missouri, 304.
- Missouri, State Hist'l Soc. of, acquisitions, 141.
- Missouri Compromise, 443.
- Mitchell, John, 549.
- Mobile, during Br. control, 202 ff.
- Moffitt, James W., 76, 289.
- Mollier, Raphael, 347.
- Molyneux, Peter, 466.
- Montague, Ludwell L., *Haiti and the U. S.*, revd., 565-66.
- Mooney, Chase, 291.
- Moore, A. B., 135, 419; communication, 133-34.
- Moore, G. Bedell, 318 ff.
- Moore, Powell, 289.
- Morais, Herbert, study noted, 263.
- Morgan, John, 74.
- Morison, Samuel F., 569.
- Morris, Richard B. (ed.), *Era of the Am. Rev.*, revd., 262-64.
- Morrison Tariff bill, La. planter and, 539, 541-42.
- Morton, Oliver P., 62, 64.
- Morton, Richard L., 569; revs. Brown's *Cabells and Their Kin*, 2nd edition, ed. by Carrington C. Tutwiler, 402-403.
- Moses, Franklin J., 463.
- Moss, Charles G. G., 570.
- Mowry, George E., 568; "So. and the Progressive Lily White Party of 1912," 237-47.
- Mudge, Eugene T., *Social Philosophy of John Taylor of Caroline*, revd., 404-405.
- Murchison, Claudius T., 466.
- Murphree, Lois, 569.
- Myers, Abraham C., and Confed. imports, 488.
- Mystics and Beta Theta Pi*, by Karl W. Fischer, noted, 429.
- Nall, James O., *Tobacco Night Riders*, revd., 127-28.
- Nassau, in blockade trade, 472.
- Natchez, Miss., 95, 284-85.
- National Archives, additions, 293, 427; guide, noted, 573.
- National Enquirer*, abolitionist publication, 368 ff.
- National Park Service, hist'l work in Va., 189, 199-200.
- National Progressive party, Negro faction, 240.
- Nebraska, slavery question and, 447-48.
- Negro, place in So. legal practice, 10 ff.; and Reconstruction party battles, 50 ff.; place in Reconstruction hist., 82-83; religious efforts for, 84-85; views on, during Reconstruction, 107-108, 111; med. society, 130-31; in Miss. politics, 225 ff.; issue in 1912 election, 237-47; short hist. of, revd., 279-80; on La. sugar plantation, 348 ff., 521 ff.; rights under 14th Amendment, 444-45; and So. economic problems, 462 ff.; free, 1867 labor contract, 546-48; and S. C. Reconstruction, 563-64; and race relations, 566-67. *See also*, Slavery.
- Negro Family in the United States*, by E. Franklin Frazier, revd., 128-30.
- Nelson, Anson, 178.
- Nevada, 448.
- Nevins, Allan, 67.
- New England, attitude, contrasted with So., 16.
- New England Anti-Slavery Society, warns No. capitalists, 375.
- New Jersey, 59.
- New-Line Whiggery, and slavery, 517.
- New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal*, founding, 153.
- New York, 59, 314, 442.
- New York City, poverty in, publicized by Southerners, 505-507.
- New York State Anti-Slavery Society, on slavery, 373.
- Newsome, A. R., 136, 138, 291.
- Niblack, William E., and Reconstruction, 50 ff.

- Nicholls, Francis T., 366.
 Nichols, Jeanette P., 420.
 Nichols, Roy F., 420.
 Nixon, H. C., 291; study, communications conc., 132-34.
 Noble, James, and Fla. land speculation, 210 ff.
 Nocquet, James, 73.
 Noe, A. C. D., 138.
 "Non-Southerners in the South," program theme, 73.
 Nornabell, H. M., 292.
 North Carolina, 73, 84, 96, 155, 190, 198, 209, 474; 18th century imprints, 113-14; secession movement, 122-23; Rev. activities, 249 ff.; archaeological project, 293; local hist'l celebration, 425; MS. records located, 425-26.
 North Carolina, Archaeological Soc. of, ann. session noted, 138.
 North Carolina, State Lit. and Hist. Assoc. of, ann. meeting, 137-38.
 North Carolina, Univ. of, Lenoir and, 248; So. Hist. Collection additions, 428-29, 570-72.
 North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities, meeting noted, 138.
 North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering, hist., revd., 288.
 "Northern Congressional Democrats as Defenders of the South During Reconstruction," by Albert V. House, Jr., 46-71.
 "Northern Singers in the South," by Philip D. Jordan, synop., 74-75.
 Northrop, Lucius B., and Confed. imports, 493 ff.
 Norton, J. D., 325.
 Norton, Margaret C., 422.
 Ohio, 59.
 "Ohio Idea," and Dem. party, 61.
 Oklahoma, 77; hist., revd., 280-82.
 Oklahoma Historical Society, ann. meeting noted, 423.
Old Presbyterian Meeting House at Alexandria, Virginia, 1774-1874, by William B. McGroarty, noted, 572-73.
 Olmsted, Frederick L., 25.
One Hundred Years at V. M. I., I and II, by William Couper, revd., 285-86.
 Ord, Edward O. C., 107-108.
 Oregon, 315.
Origins of Class Struggle in Louisiana: A Social History of White Farmers and Laborers during Slavery and After, 1840-1875, by Roger W. Shugg, revd., 116-17.
 Osborn, George C., 421; revs. Smith and Beasley's *Carter Glass*, 131-32; "John Sharp Williams Becomes a U. S. Senator," 222-36.
 Othen, Charles H., *Ills of the South*, tone of, 460.
 Ott, Edward R., revs. Montague's *Haiti and the U. S.*, 565-66.
Our Catholic Heritage in Texas, 1519-1936, ed. by Paul J. Foik, IV, *The Mission Era: The Passing of the Missions, 1762-1782*, by Carlos E. Castañeda, revd., 261-62.
 Overseers, La. plantation, 349 ff.
 Owen, Marie B., 423.
 Owsley, Frank L., 80, 92, 135, 291, 420, 466, 471 n.; (coauth.), "Economic Basis of Soc. in the Late Ante-Bellum So.," 24-45; revs. Shugg's *Origins of Class Struggle in La.*, 116-17; revs. Eaton's *Freedom of Thought in the Old So.*, 558-59.
 Owsley, Harriet C. (coauth.), "Economic Basis of Soc. in the Late Ante-Bellum So.," 24-45.
 Oxford, Miss., 96.
 Page, Thomas Nelson, 9, 14, 18.
 Palm Beach County Historical Society, meeting noted, 138.
 Palmer, Ben W., *Marshall and Taney*, revd., 265-66.
 Parilla, Don Diego Ortiz, 210.
 Park, Robert, essay noted, 566.
 Parker, Daisy, 424.
 Parker, John M., on Negro Progressives, 243-44.
 Parker, Sir Peter, 249.
 Parkman, Francis, 191.
 Parks, J. H., revs. Ahl's *Jackson and the Const.*, 268; *Felix Grundy*, revd., 409-11.
 Patton, James W., 80, 89, 92; "Fifth Ann. Meeting of the So. Hist'l Assoc.," 72-88; revs. Long's *Son of Carolina*, 277-78.
 Pearce, Haywood J., Jr., 421.
 Pearson, C. C., revs. Daniel's *Tar Heel Ed.*, 415-16.
 Pegg, Carl, 568.
 Pegues, Thomas, 108.
 Pemberton, John C., in Miss., 394, 396, 397.
 Pendleton, Edmund, biog., revd., 114-15.
 Pennington, Edgar L., *John Freeman Young*, noted, 139; *Thomas Bray's Associates and Their Work*, noted, 139.
 Pennsylvania, 59, 314; Treasury thieves, 57-58.
 Pensacola, during Br. control, 201 ff.
 Perkins, William, popularity in Va., 385.
 Perry, Percival, 422.
 Peterson, Andrew, 107.
 Peterson, H. C., 291.
 Pettigrew hospital, 160.
 Phillips, Ulrich B., 26; on slavery, 445-46.
 Pickens, Andrew, sketch, 256.
 Pickett, John T., mission to Mex., 497.
 "Picturesque Foreigners in the Confederacy," by Ella Lonn, synop., 73-74.

- Pierce, Franklin, 393.
 Pierpoint, Francis H., 560.
Pioneer Merchant of St. Louis, 1810-1820: The Business Career of Christian Wilt, by Sister Marietta Jennings, revd., 555.
 "Pious Reading in Colonial Virginia," by Louis B. Wright, 383-92.
 Plantation, influence on So. legal attitudes, 8; and So. economy, 25 ff.; sugar, 348-67.
 Poindexter, George, 95.
 Polish Brigade, Confed., 73.
Political Nativism in Tennessee to 1860, by Sister Mary de Lourdes Gohmann, revd., 118-19.
 Polk, James K., and Walker appointment, 102-103.
 Polk, Leonidas, 398-99.
 Pomerantz, Sidney, study noted, 263.
 Pomeroy, S. L., on slavery, 371.
 Pomeroy, Samuel C., public land policy, 306 ff.
 Pontiac, campaign in So., 207.
 "Poor whites," place in So. economy, 24 ff., 116-17.
 Porcher, F. P., 158.
 Porter, William T., 87-88.
 Poteet, James H., 289.
 Pratt, Joseph H., 138.
Preliminary Bibliography of the American Fur Trade, comp. by Stuart Cuthbertson and John C. Ewers, noted, 574.
 "Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., in Southern Reconstruction, 1860-1880," by Oliver S. Heckman, synop., 84-85.
Present State of Virginia, and the College (reprint), ed. by Hunter D. Farish, noted, 569.
 Preston, Mrs. Frances F. C., 292.
 Prevost, Augustine, in West Fla., 201 ff.
 Prior, Granville T., 423.
 Prize Cases, and r. rs., 182.
 Progressive party, and 1912 election, 237-47.
 Protestant Episcopal Church, reunion, 84.
 Public lands, Fed. policy in So., 303-30.
 Puritanism, in Colonial Va., 384 ff.
Quarterly Anti-Slavery Magazine, abolitionist publication, 368 ff.
 Queener, Verton M., 292.
 Quincy Historical Society, meeting noted, 424.
 Quintero, Juan, on Mex. supplies, 499, 500.
 Quitman, John A., 95, 103.
Race Relations and the Race Problem: A Definition and an Analysis, ed. by Edgar T. Thompson, revd., 566-67.
 Radicals, Rep., and Reconstruction, 46 ff.; Civil War policy, 452 ff.
 Railroads, indebted, as a Reconstruction problem, 167-88; and public land policy, 305 ff.; Confed., and imports, 486 ff.
 Rainwater, P. L. (ed.), "Letters To and From Jacob Thompson," 95-111.
 Randall, James G., 51, 135; "Civil War Restudied," synop., 81-82; article, 439-57.
 Randall, Samuel J., and Reconstruction, 50 ff.
 Randle, S. T., 325.
 Randolph, Harrison, 420.
 Randolph, Sarah N., *Domestic Life of Thomas Jefferson*, revd., 405-407.
 Randolph-Macon Woman's College, hist'l activities, 197.
 Rawlins, John A., 183.
 Raymond, Henry J., 455.
 "Recent Trends in Southern Methodism," by Hunter D. Farish, synop., 85.
 Reconstruction, No. defenders of the So. during, 46-71; discussion on, 82-83; views on, in Miss., 105-11; indebted r. rs. during, 167-88; effect on public land policy, 304 ff.; psychological hang-over, 462 ff.; and La. sugar planting, 523 ff.; in N. C., 563-64.
Red Shirts Remembered: Southern Brigadiers of the Reconstruction Period, by William A. Sheppard, revd., 563-64.
 Reddick, L. D., revs. Cobb's *First Negro Med. Soc.*, 130-31.
 "Refugee Journalists in the South," by Delbert H. Gilpatrick, synop., 73.
 Religion, So., 84-85; Va., hist'l sources, 197-98; as shown by readings, 385 ff.
Religion and the State in Georgia in the Eighteenth Century, by Reba Carolyn Strickland, revd., 112-13.
 Republican party, during Reconstruction, 46-71, 82-83; and slavery question, 81-82, 517, 519; election of 1912, pp. 237 ff.; Civil War issues, 446 ff.
 Repudiation, So., as Reconstruction issue, 64.
 "Reunion of the Protestant Episcopal Church, 1865," by Henry T. Shanks, synop., 84.
 Reuter, Edward B., essay noted, 566.
 Revision, hist'l, problems, 81-83, 443 ff.
 Revolution, Am., in N. C., 247-59; studies, revd., 262-64.
 "Revolutionary Diary of William Lenoir," ed. by J. G. de R. Hamilton, 247-59.
 "Rewriting the History of Reconstruction," by Howard K. Beale, synop., 82-83.
 Reynolds, A. W., 135.
 Rice, Harvey M., discusses Civil War paper, 83; revs. Summer's *B. and O. in the Civil War*, 273-74.
 Rice, John H., public land policy, 306.
 Rich, G. Barrett, 292.
 Richardson, Louise, 424.

- Richardson, Walter C., 568.
 Richardson, William A., 62.
 Rightor, A. F., 359.
 Rivera, R. O., 140.
Road to Richmond: The Civil War Memoirs of Major Abner R. Small, ed. by Harold A. Small, revd., 125-26.
 Robinson, E. L., 424.
 Robinson, John M., 487.
 Robinson, Solon, 137.
 Robinson, William M., Jr., 419; revs. Couper's *One Hundred Years at V. M. I.*, I and II, 285-86.
 Rochon and Company, in Br. West Fla., 205-206.
 Rodabaugh, James H., 569.
 Rogers, Nathaniel P., 74.
 Rogers, W. Fliinn, 292.
Romance of Beginnings of Some Alabama Industries, by Peter A. Brannon, revd., 120.
 Romans, Bernard, rept. on Br. West Fla., 203-204.
 Roosevelt, Franklin D., 304, 459.
 Roosevelt, Theodore, Progressive party candidate, 237-47.
 Rothrock, Mary U., 292.
 Ruffin, Edmund, 137.
Rural South: Background, Problems, Outlook, by Samuel L. Chesnutt, revd., 411-12.
 Rusk, Thomas J., commands Tex. army after San Jacinto, 333 ff.
 Russell, John R., 422.
 Russell, Josiah C., 291.
 Rutherford, Griffith, Indian fighter, 251 ff.
 Rutledge, Ann, 441.
 Rutledge, John, 553.
 Ryan, Lee W., *Fr. Travelers in the South-eastern U. S.*, revd., 404.
 Sadler, Francis, 292.
 Salley, A. S., 292.
 Salt, Confed. imports, 495.
 Sanders, Jennings B., 292, 419.
 Santa Anna, relations with Tex. after San Jacinto, 332 ff.
 Savelle, Max, study noted, 263.
 Schaffer, William A., 354.
 Scheliha, Viktor von, 73.
 Schlesinger, Arthur M., 569.
 Schuyler, Robert L., 422.
 Scott, Jonathan F., 291.
 Scott, Walter, 13; novels in So., 357.
 Sears, Alfred B., 270, 291.
 Secession, as viewed by Ia. sugar planter, 358.
Secession Movement in North Carolina, by J. Carlyle Sitterson, revd., 122-23.
 Secretary-Treasurer, ann. rept., 89-94.
Sectionalism and Internal Improvements in Tennessee, 1796-1845, by Stanley J. Folmsbee, revd., 115-16.
 Seddon, James A., and Confed. imports, 477, 482 ff.
 Seibert, Russell H., 291.
 Sellers, J. L., 135; revs. Gabriel's *Course of Am. Democratic Thought*, 555-57.
 Semmes, Raphael, 136.
 "Sequoyah's Contribution to Cherokee Culture," by Morris L. Wardell, synop., 77.
 Seward, William H., 448, 454, 501, 519.
 Shanks, Henry T., 419; "Reunion of the Protestant Episcopal Church, 1865," synop., 84; revs. Sitterson's *Secession Movement in N. C.*, 122-23.
 Sharkey, William L., 108.
 Sharp, Joseph A., 292.
 Sharp, Helen, 424.
 Sharpe, William, identified, 254.
 Shaw, Arthur M., Jr., *Centenary College Goes to War*, noted, 429.
 Shay's Rebellion, study on, noted, 263.
 Shepherd, C. H., 325.
 Sheppard, William, identified, 259.
 Sheppard, William A., *Red Shirts Remembered*, revd., 563-64.
 Sherman, John, 59, 420.
 Sherman, William T., 463.
 Sherwood, Rev. Adiel, *Gazetteer of the State of Ga.* (reprint), revd., 264.
 Shomburg Collection, noted, 572.
Short History of the American Negro, by Benjamin Brawley, revd., 279-80.
 Shryock, Richard H., 289.
 Shugg, Roger W., *Origins of Class Struggle in La.*, revd., 116-17; revs. McIlwaine's *So. Poor-White*, 564-65.
 Shurtleff, Harold R., *Log Cabin Myth*, noted, 294.
 Shurz, Carl, interpretation of Rep. aims, 46-47.
 Sibley, H. H., 499.
Side Lights on Southern History, by Mary H. Flournoy, noted, 294.
 Silver, as issue during Reconstruction, 61-62.
 Simkins, Francis B., 420, 421; discusses Reconstruction paper, 83; revs. Sheppard's *Red Shirts Remembered*, 563-64.
 Simms, Henry H., "Critical Analysis of Abolition Lit.," 368-82; revs. Davis' *Francis Walker Gilmer*, 407-408.
Simon Bolivar Buckner: Borderland Knight, by Arndt M. Stickles, revd., 412-13.
 Simpson, Albert F., 419.
 Sirich, John M., 291.
 Sitterson, J. Carlyle, 422, 568; "Financing and Marketing the Sugar Crop of the Old So.," synop., 79; *Secession Movement in N. C.*, revd., 122-23; "The McCollams," 347-67.

- Skipper, O. C., 568.
- Slattery, Edmund, La. sugar planter, 347, 348, 350.
- Slattery, Ellen, 347.
- "Slaveholders' Indictment of Northern Wage Slavery," by Wilfred Carsel, 504-20.
- Slavery, biblical defense, 5-6 ff.; effect on So. legal attitudes, 9 ff.; place in So. economy, 24 ff.; political issue in Ky., 76; importance in Civil War, 81-82; effect on cotton market, 86; analysis of lit. attacking, 368-82; books on, in Va. lib., 389; study of, as hist'l problem, 445 ff.; in territories, 447-48; compared with No. wage earners, 504-20. *See also*. Slaves, Negro.
- Slavery As It Is*, abolitionist publication, 368 ff.
- Slavery Controversy, 1831-1860*, by Arthur Y. Lloyd, revd., 271-73.
- Slaves, attitude toward masters, 445-46; no. of escapes, 446-47.
- Sloss, James W., 170, 171.
- Small, Abner, war memoirs, revd., 125-26.
- Small, Harold A. (ed.), *Road to Richmond*, revd., 125-26.
- Smith, Benjamin F., 336.
- Smith, Charles E., revs. Ky. Writers' Project *Centennial Hist. of the Univ. of Louisville*, 286-87.
- Smith, Culver H., 291, 292.
- Smith, Florence E., revs. Lockmiller's *Hist. of the N. C. State College*, 288.
- Smith, E. Kirby, war purchasing operations, 498, 500-501.
- Smith, Rixey (coauth.), *Carter Glass*, revd., 131-32.
- Smith, T. Lynn, revs. Thompson's (ed.) *Race Relations and the Race Problem*, 566-67.
- Smith, William S., 179.
- Social Philosophy of John Taylor of Caroline: A Study in Jeffersonian Democracy*, by Eugene T. Mudge, revd., 404-405.
- Society of American Archivists, meeting noted, 423.
- Sociology, use of term, 18.
- "Some Economic Aspects of British West Florida, 1763-1768," by C. N. Howard, 201-21.
- Son of Carolina*, by Augustus W. Long, revd., 277-78.
- "South and the European Thought-Drift," by John D. Wade, synop., 88.
- "South and the Progressive Lily White Party of 1912," by George E. Mowry, 237-47.
- South Carolina, 68, 73, 80, 96, 209, 239, 249; court, on police laws, 10; and Brooks-Sumner affair, 21-23; free labor contract, 546-48.
- South Carolina Historical Association, 419.
- South Carolina Historical Society, 419; ann. meeting noted, 292; MS. acquisitions, 425.
- "South Carolina Rice Factor as Revealed in the Papers of Robert F. W. Allston," by J. Harold Easterby, synop., 79-80.
- South to Posterity: An Introduction to the Writing of Confederate History*, by Douglas S. Freeman, revd., 413-14.
- Southern Historical Association, fifth ann. meeting, rept., 72-88.
- Southern Homestead Act, adopted, 307; effect, 308-309; repeal, 311-13.
- "Southern Indians," program topic, 76-78.
- Southern Planter*, 100th ann. celebration, 136-37.
- Southern Poor-White: from Lubberland to Tobacco Road*, by Shields McIlwaine, revd., 564-65.
- "Southern Relations with Europe," program theme, 85-87.
- "Southern Story-Telling in the New York *Spirit of the Times*, 1835-1860," by Franklin J. Meine, synop., 87-88.
- "Southerner and the Laws," by Charles S. Sydnor, 3-23; noted, 83.
- Spanish, and Br. West Fla., 207 ff.
- Squatters, and public land policy, 307 ff.
- Stanton, Edwin M., 455.
- Staples, Thomas S., 135.
- State rights, Const. as a guarantee of, 5 ff.
- Statesmen of the Lost Cause: Jefferson Davis and His Cabinet*, by Burton J. Hendrick, revd., 274-75.
- Stephens, Alexander H., 69, 448, 455.
- Stephenson, Charles, identified, 532.
- Stephenson, Isaac, 318.
- Stephenson, Nathaniel W. (coauth.), *George Washington*, I and II, revd., 551-55.
- Stephenson, Wendell H., 291.
- Stevens, Thaddeus, 242, 463; biog., revd., 276-77; Reconstruction plans attacked, 51 ff.
- Stevenson, Vernon K., 180.
- Stickles, A. M., revs. Lafferty's *Lure of Ky.*, 282-83; *Simon Bolivar Buckner*, revd., 412-13.
- Stiles, William H., chargé d'affaires, 87.
- Stone, Mrs. Doris, 292.
- Stonequist, Everett V., essay noted, 567.
- Stoney, Samuel G., 419.
- Storey, Moorefield, views on Dem. party, 46-48.
- Stout, Samuel H., 152.
- Stowe, Harriet B., 374.
- Strickland, Reba Carolyn, *Religion and the State in Ga.*, revd., 112-13.
- Strong, Charles F., revs. Gipson's *Br. Empire before the Am. Rev.*, IV, 260-61.
- Stroupe, H. S., 422.
- Stuart, Charles, 369; on slavery, 373, 379.
- Stuart, John, Indian agent, 249.

- Sugar, marketing, 79; planting in La., 348-67, 521-46.
- Sulakowski, Valery, 73.
- Sullivan, Daniel F., 321.
- Summerall, Charles P., 419.
- Summers, Festus P., 420, 421; *B. and O. in the Civil War*, revd., 273-74.
- Summersell, Charles G., 289, 419, 569.
- Sumner, Charles, 46, 242, 455-56; clash with Brooks, 21-23.
- Sundry Civil Appropriation bill, Reconstruction, 57.
- Supreme Court, U. S., So. sympathies, 446.
- "Supreme Court for the District of Kentucky, 1782-1792," by Samuel M. Wilson, synop., 75.
- Surgery, Confed. practices, 153 ff.
- Swearingen, Mack, 73, 132-33; revs. Childs' *John McDonogh*, 121-22.
- Sweet, William W., 84.
- Swem, Earl G., 569; bibliog. work, 192, 193.
- Sydnor, Charles S., 137, 371, 421, 458; delivers pres. address, 83; revs. Chitwood's *John Tyler*, 266-67; "Southerner and the Laws," 3-23.
- Taft, William H., and 1912 election, 239 ff.
- Tallahassee Historical Society, 424.
- Taney, Roger B., study of, revd., 265-66.
- Tanner, J. N., 352.
- Tapp, Hambleton, "Wickliffe-Breckinridge Controversy of the Thirties," synop., 75-76.
- Tappan, Lewis, on slavery, 376.
- Tar Heel Editor*, by Josephus Daniels, revd., 415-16.
- Tariff, as issue during Reconstruction, 59-60; as Miss. political issue, 227 ff.; in 1912 election, 237, 246; effect on So., 465-66; and La. sugar planting, 537 ff.
- Taylor, John, 137; study on, revd., 404-405.
- Taylor, William H., 162.
- Tenancy, and slavery, 430-51; as So. problem, 462 ff.
- Tennessee, 52, 84, 96, 474, 481; indebted r. rs., 175 ff.; political nativism, 118-19; sectionalism and internal improvements, 115-16; tobacco night riders, 127-28.
- Tennessee Valley, archaeological discoveries, 77-78.
- Terhune, Thornton, 291.
- Texas, 84, 101-102, 153, 379; Fr. foreign policy and, 85-86; mission era, 261-62; Rev., 331; army after San Jacinto, 337-46; and Confed. imports, 497 ff.
- Texas and Pacific Railroad Company, as Reconstruction issue, 63-65.
- Thaddeus Stevens*, by Alphonse B. Miller, revd., 276-77.
- They Found It In Natchez*, by Theodora Britton Marshall and Gladys Crail Evans, revd., 284-85.
- Thirteenth Amendment, application in So., 450-51.
- Thomas, Alfred B., revs. Brooks's *Diplomacy and the Borderlands*, 557-58.
- Thomas, Charles H., 140.
- Thomas, Dan, 291.
- Thomas, David Y., 291.
- Thomas, George H., and Reconstruction r. rs., 168 ff.
- Thomas Bray's Associates and Their Work among the Negroes*, by Edgar L. Pennington, noted, 139.
- Thomas Riley Marshall*, by Charles H. Thomas, noted, 140.
- Thome, James A., on slaveholders, 370.
- Thompson, Benjamin, 527.
- Thompson, Caswell M., 97.
- Thompson, Daniel, life, 521-23; letters conc. sugar planting, 523-46.
- Thompson, Edgar T., 137; revs. Frazier's *Negro Family in the U. S.*, 128-30; (ed.) *Race Relations and the Race Problem*, 566-67.
- Thompson, George N., letter from, 98.
- Thompson, Jacob, early life, 95; lawyer and congressman, 96; planter, 96 ff.; student, 99-101; on Robert J. Walker, 101-104; during Reconstruction, 104-11.
- Thompson, James Y., 95, 100.
- Thompson, John T., 100.
- Thompson, Joseph, 100, 101.
- Thompson, Mildred, 420.
- Thompson, Nicholas, letters from, 98-101.
- Thompson, Sam, 106.
- Thompson, Samuel B., *Confed. Purchasing Operations Abroad*, value noted, 471 n.
- Thompson, Wibray, sugar planter, 530, 532, 540, 543, 544.
- Thompson, William, 111.
- Thomson, Charles, 553.
- Thurman, Allen G., and Reconstruction, 50 ff.
- Tilden, Samuel J., and Reconstruction, 67-68.
- Tilley, Nannie M. (ed.), "Letter of Judge Alexander M. Clayton," 392-401.
- Tillman, Benjamin R., 421.
- Tobacco, in So. economy, 465.
- Tobacco Night Riders of Kentucky and Tennessee, 1905-1909*, by James O. Nall, revd., 127-28.
- Tochman, Gaspard, 73.
- Tocqueville, Alexis de, on slavery, 9.
- Tories, in So., 249 ff.
- Touchet, Samuel, 210.
- Tower, Zealous B., 168.
- Transportation, r. rs., So. problems, 167-88.
- Transylvania College, host to Assoc., 72.

- Trent, William P., 469; on So., 460.
 Turner, Nat. insurrection, 380-81, 445.
 Tutwiler, Carrington C. (ed.), Alexander Brown, *The Cabells and Their Kin*, 2nd edition, revd., 402-403.
 "Two Decades of Historical Activity in Virginia," by Lester J. Cappon, 189-200.
 Tyler, John, 448; biog., revd., 266-67.
 Underwood, Thomas R., 423.
 Urrea, José, supersedes Filisola, 342.
 Vallandigham, Clement L., followers, and So., 452.
 Van Buren, James, 101, 102.
 Van Dorn, Earl, 394.
 Van Dyne, John B., 170-71.
 Vance, Rupert B., 137, 466; essay noted, 566.
 Vance, Zebulon B., 420.
 Vardaman, James K., Sen. race, 1907, pp. 223-36; early career, 224-25.
 Venable, Austin L., 419, 569.
 Villepigue, John B., 396.
 Violette, Eugene M., 568.
 Virginia, 96, 209, 439, 474; courts, 75; hist'l activity, 189-200; activities during Rev., 249 ff.; colonial pious reading, 383-92.
 Virginia, Univ. of, hist'l activities, 189-92 ff.
 Virginia Historical Society, early activities, 191, 193; recent archival additions, 293, 572.
 Virginia Military Institute, hist., revd., 285-86.
 Virginia Polytechnic Institute, hist'l collection, 197.
Virginia Quarterly Review, 15th anniversary noted, 294.
Virginia's Social Awakening: The Contribution of Dr. Martin and the Board of Charities and Corrections, by Arthur W. James, revd., 417.
 Virginia State Library, acquisitions, 141.
 Voorhees, Daniel W., and Reconstruction, 50 ff.
 Voorhis, Manning C., 570.
 Wade, John D., "So. and the European Thought-Drift," synop., 88.
 Walker, David, *Appeal*, character of, 380-81.
 Walker, Leroy P., and Confed. imports, 475, 484-85.
 Walker, R. Casper, revs. Strickland's *Religion and the State in Ga.*, 112-13.
 Walker, Robert J., 95; appointment as Secy. of Treas., 101-103.
 Wall, A. J., 292.
 Wallace, D. D., 85, 419.
 Ward, Judson C., 569.
 Wardell, Morris L., "Sequoyah's Contribution to Cherokee Culture," synop., 77.
 Warner, W. Lloyd, essay noted, 567.
 Warren, Harris G., 568.
 Washburn, Cadwallader C., 522, 523 n., 525, 526, 530.
 Washburne, Elihu B., 525-26, 527, 528.
 Washington, Booker T., and Roosevelt, 246.
 Washington, George, biog., revd., 551-55.
 Washington, state, 315.
 Washington and Lee University, hist'l activities, 189, 198, 199.
 Watson, Harry L., 423.
 Watson, Tom, supports Vardaman, 233-34.
 Watterson, Henry, 53, 66.
 Wauchope, Robert, 138.
 Way, William, 292.
 Webb, Walter P., 466; *Divided We Stand*, cited, 460.
 Webber, Mable L., 292.
 Webber, W. A., and Company, 325.
 Webster, Daniel, and territories, 453-54.
 Weed, Thurlow, 449, 453.
 Weeks, B. D., 423.
 Wegg, Edmund Rush, 213.
 Weld, Theodore D., 369; *Slavery As It Is*, handbook on antislavery, 373 ff.
 Wertenbaker, Thomas J., 569.
 West Florida, Br., economic aspects, 201-21.
 West Indies, and Confed. imports, 471 ff.
West Virginia: The Mountain State, by Charles H. Ambler, revd., 559-61.
West Virginia History, first issue noted, 138-39.
 West Virginia University Library, accessions, 293, 425.
 Westmoreland, John G., 158.
 Weston, George, on "poor whites," 25.
 Wharton, V. L., 289.
 Whig party, La. planter as member, 356-58.
 White, Laura, 456.
 Whitfield, Wilson, 258.
 Whitman, Mrs. A. B., 425.
 Wickliffe, Robert, controversy with Breckinridge, 75-76.
 "Wickliffe-Breckinridge Controversy of the Thirties," by Hambleton Tapp, synop., 75-76.
 Wienefeld, Robert H., 568.
 Wilcox, S. M., 325.
 Wiley, Bell I., 135, 290, 420; revs. Lonn's *Foreigners in the Confed.*, 561-63.
 William and Mary, College of, hist'l activities, 195, 200.
 William Salter, *Western Torchbearer*, by Philip D. Jordan, noted, 140.
 Williams, Amelia W. (coed.), *Writings of Sam Houston*, II, revd., 268-70.

- Williams, Annie Gaines, 423-24.
Williams, John Sharp, early career, 222-23; race for Senate, 223-36.
Williams, Mary Wilhelmina, 289.
Williamson, Andrew, in Rev., 250 ff.
Willoughby, Mrs. Sarah, 386.
Wilmington, Confed. import center, 480 ff.
Wilmot Proviso, principle, nonapplication in some territories, 448.
Wilson, Mrs. A. F., 138.
Wilson, Gaines R., 424.
Wilson, Samuel M., "Supreme Court for the Dist. of Ky., 1782-1792," synop., 75.
Wilson, William L., 420.
Wilson, Woodrow, reasons for election, 1912, p. 246.
Wilt, Christian, pioneer merchant, 555.
Winder hospital, 154.
Wisconsin, 314.
Woll, Adrian, effect of retention by Texans, 336-37.
Wood, Fernando, and Reconstruction, 50 ff.
Woodman, Charlotte Flint, 527.
Woodman, Cyrus, 521; identified, 523; letters to, 523-46.
Woodman, Frank, identified, 527.
Woodman, Mary, 526.
Woodward, C. Vann, 568.
Woody, Robert H., 92, 420.
Works of James D. B. De Bow: A Bibliography of De Bow's Review, with a Check List of His Miscellaneous Writings, by James A. McMillen, noted, 573.
Wormeley, Ralph, lib., 587-89.
Wright, Elizur, 369; on slavery, 371.
Wright, Louis B., "Pious Reading in Colonial Va.," 383-92.
Wright-Blodgett Lumber Company, 317.
Writings of Sam Houston, 1813-1863. Volume II, July 16, 1814-March 31, 1842, ed. by Amelia W. Williams and Eugene C. Barker, revd., 268-70.
Wyatt, Dorothea, 289.
Yancey, William L., 569.
Yates, Richard E., 135; revs. Hill's *Joseph E. Brown*, 123-25.
Yawkey, William C., 317.
Young, Arthur, 549.
Young, George H., 108.
Young, Hiram, 69.
Young, Stark, 18.
Zion's Herald, abolitionist publication, 374.